



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NORTH CAROLINA

PART 15 OF 15

BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
NORTH CAROLINA

FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8

Section 14

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHARLOTTE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 4/5/76	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 3/29/76
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY jat
		CHARACTER OF CASE E1	

REFERENCE:

Charlotte report of SA [REDACTED] 10/30/75.

- RUC -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

A copy of this report is being disseminated locally to U.S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N.C.

Copies of FD-376 attached.

All BPP members mentioned in this report have been [REDACTED]

Investigation at Winston-Salem, N.C., was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	PRETRIAL DIVERSION	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED
COPIES MADE:SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

- (11 - Bureau (105-165706 Sub 8)
 1 - U.S. Secret Service,
 Charlotte, N.C.
 2 - San Francisco (157-1204)
 1 - Charlotte (157-6171)

105-165706-8-760
 21 APR 9 1976
 REC-54
 EX-104

Dissemination Record of Attached Report	
Agency	ICC-CI(155)
Request Recd.	ICC-4555
Date Fwd.	ICC-4555/JEH
How Fwd.	7cc DESTROYED
	JFC: mps 4/20/76
	105

Notations

COVER PAGE

Investigative period reflected by this report includes only that time necessary for file review and preparation of the report.

For the sake of brevity and to avoid duplication, information concerning travel, activity and publication of activity on the part of LARRY LITTLE, former member of the BPP at Winston-Salem, N.C., is not being set out in the BPP organizational report under travel by BPP members and BPP political activity [REDACTED]

This matter is being placed in an RUC status within the Charlotte Division in view of the fact that activity on the part of the BPP at Winston-Salem, N.C., has been non-violent in nature and no information has been received indicating the BPP maintains or has maintained in the past fortifications or weapons. Additionally, no information has been received indicating support for or control by the BPP in Winston-Salem, N.C., from its national headquarters in Oakland, Calif. It should be noted that information in the past indicated that national headquarters of the BPP had requested the BPP in Winston-Salem, N.C., to close down and members come to national headquarters, however, the Winston-Salem unit refused to comply with instructions from national headquarters. At the present time, no BPP sponsored activities are functional in Winston-Salem and LARRY LITTLE, former leader of the BPP, since its inception in Winston-Salem, N.C., is no longer associated with the unit and BPP has no means of support other than the sale of BPP newspapers. The BPP in Winston-Salem does not present any real or imagined current threat to the security of the country and individual members of the BPP in Winston-Salem at the present time have been contacted by the FBI in the past for purposes of interview and no productive results have been obtained. No BPP individual case files are presently in a pending status at the Charlotte Division at the present time. [REDACTED]

CE 157-0171

INFORMANTS:

Identity

[REDACTED]

Location

[REDACTED]

C*
COVER PAGE

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(5) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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105-165706-8-760 page D*

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - U.S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N.C.

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: CHARLOTTE
Date: 4/5/76

Field Office File #: 157-6171 Bureau File #: 105-165706 Sub 8

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character: EXTREMIST MATTER

Synopsis:

Headquarters of the N.C. Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is located at 1333 N. Patterson Ave., Winston-Salem, N.C., and is under the direct leadership of CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER. Information concerning past arrests and convictions, community activities, finances, weapons and fortifications set out in this report.

- RUC -

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

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CE 157-6171

DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL DATA

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is attached as an appendix to this report.

A. LOCATION OF NORTH CAROLINA HEADQUARTERS

The North Carolina Chapter of the BPP is presently located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The headquarters itself continues to be a two-story frame residence painted blue with black trim and is situated in a predominantly Black residential neighborhood.

CE T-1, March 29, 1976

B. OFFICERS AND MEMBERSHIP

CHARLES RAY ZOLLIFFER Leader, BPP
MARIE MOORE Secretary and Treasurer

Membership totals are as follows:

Assigned Six

In jail Two

Total active in
Charlotte Division Four

Community Workers None

C. PADS

1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

The Winston-Salem Chapter of the BPP no longer operates 1106-D East 19th Street, Winston-Salem, N.C., as a BPP pad in view of the fact that the party's finances no longer allow the luxury of a second location. All activity is now conducted out of the headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.


D. FINANCES

Funding for the BPP is dependent almost totally from donations from the general public and from the sale of the BPP newspaper. The newspaper, itself, which has in the past been a constant source of revenue, has dwindled considerably and the party membership generally sells fewer than 100 copies of the newspaper per month.

Donations to the Party in the past have come from churches and individual contributions by persons who have benefited from the BPP Free Ambulance Service. These donations have varied in amounts, however, generally funds were obtained a few dollars at a time. In view of the fact that the Free Ambulance Service has been discontinued in view of the lack of funds, the Party no longer receives donations through the ambulance service.

The newspaper, The Black Panther, sells for 25¢ a copy and half the proceeds from the newspaper sales are forwarded to the BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California. The additional monies which are retained at the BPP Headquarters in Winston-Salem have been necessary for payment of rent and utilities at the Headquarters and no funds have been available for payment of officers for their services. BPP has previously received funds from the National Episcopal Church and last received a \$5,000 gift for continuation of the BPP's Free Ambulance Service, however, these funds were used for insurance purposes and there is no indication that any funds will be furnished to the Panthers in the future in view of the lack of community support, lack of membership, and disinterest on the part of the National Episcopal Church.

Vehicles presently in use by the BPP including the free ambulance are all in need of repairs and the BPP has no funds for expenditures to repair vehicles for use in the future.



II. BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) ACTIVITIES

1. ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS

~~STANFORD~~ LILLEY and ~~RANDOLPH~~ JENNINGS, two of three members of the BPP identified as "The High Point Three" continue to be incarcerated in the North Carolina Department of Correction (NCDC) and serving seven to ten year sentences as a result of their convictions for Assault With a Deadly Weapon With Intent to Kill on February 4, 1972, in High Point, North Carolina. //

LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three" was paroled on March 4, 1974, and no longer serving an active sentence and is no longer associated with the BPP.

2. LARRY LITTLE

LARRY DONNELLY LITTLE was scheduled to be tried in Forsyth County Superior Court, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, during the October, 1973, term on the charge of Carrying a Concealed Weapon. This charge stemmed from a January, 1971, incident when LITTLE was observed by a Forsyth County Deputy Sheriff at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to be carrying a .38 caliber pistol. The trial was postponed indefinitely as LITTLE's attorney had other pending cases in Federal Court. To date, the LITTLE matter has not gone to trial. ✓

h

[

B. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Free Clothing Program is not operational. .

Free Pest Control Program is not operational. .

Free Breakfast for Children Program is not operational.

George Jackson Liberation School is not operational.

Free Ambulance Program is not operational. .

[REDACTED]

C. WEAPONS AND FORTIFICATIONS

The BPP has continued to create and maintain an image of nonviolence and in that regard, the BPP membership at no time has been observed displaying any weapons or maintaining any weapons at BPP Headquarters. Additionally, no efforts have been made to fortify the Headquarters in any way nor has any information been received indicating there are weapons maintained or have fortifications been installed at BPP Headquarters. U

Additionally, no information has been received indicating that the BPP membership is in possession of any materials which could be utilized to manufacture explosive items or incendiary devices nor is there information indicating that the BPP has access to a stockpile of weapons.

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics, and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution.

While openly advocating direct overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence until 1971, leaders have since avoided extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order. Newton, in an interview appearing in the May, 1973, issue of "Playboy" magazine, stated the Panthers' chief ambition is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence.

BPP national headquarters, also known as Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, as of May, 1974, continued to be located in Oakland, California, with branches throughout the country.

APPENDIX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHARLOTTE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 10/30/75	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/28-30/75
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY pbh
		CHARACTER OF CASE ELI	

REFERENCES: Bureau airtel to Charlotte and other offices, 8/11/75.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

A copy of this report is being disseminated locally to U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C.

Copies of FD-376 attached.

Investigation at Winston-Salem, N. C., was conducted by SA **[REDACTED]**

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	PRETRIAL DIVERSION	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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105-165706-8-759

(11 - Bureau (105-165706 Sub 8)

REC-53

1 - U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C.

2 - San Francisco (157-1204)

2 - Charlotte (157-6171)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				Notations
Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	
ICC-SS				[REDACTED] 759
ICC-SS				
ICC-4084				
7cc-D				

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CE 157-6171

Investigative period reflected by this report includes only that time necessary for file review and preparation of the report.

For the sake of brevity and to avoid duplication, information concerning travel and activity on the part of LARRY LITTLE, Leader of the BPP, is not being set out in the BPP organizational report under travel by BPP members and BPP political activity as all information concerning LARRY LITTLE is [REDACTED]

INFORMANTS:

Identity

Location

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LEADS

CHARLOTTE DIVISION

AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will continue to follow and report activities of BPP, Winston-Salem, N. C.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Copy to: 1 - U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C.

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: CHARLOTTE
Date: 10/30/75

Field Office File #: 157-6171 Bureau File #: 105-165706 Sub 8

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character: EXTREMIST MATTER

Synopsis: Headquarters of the N. C. Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is located at 1333 N. Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, N. C., and is under the direct leadership of LARRY DONNELLY LITTLE, Political Affairs Director. Information concerning past arrests and convictions, community activities, finances and weapons and fortifications set out in this report. ()

- P -

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

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2. LARRY LITTLE	6
B. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES	6
1. FREE PROGRAMS	6
2. JOSEPH WADDELL'S PEOPLES FREE AMBULANCE SERVICE	6
3. JO ANN LITTLE MOVEMENT	8
C. WEAPONS AND FORTIFICATIONS	9

I. ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL DATA

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A. LOCATION OF NORTH CAROLINA HEADQUARTERS

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B. OFFICERS AND MEMBERSHIP

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE	Political Affairs Director and Leader, in fact, of BPP
NELSON MALLOY, JR.	Titler head of the BPP and Director of Free Ambulance Program
MARIE MOORE	Secretary and Treasurer
CHARLES RAY COLLIFFER	Director of Publications and Distribution


Membership totals are as follows:

Assigned	Seven
In jail	Two
Total active in Charlotte Division	Six
Community Workers	Five (estimated)

C. PADS

1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

1106-D East 19th Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina



D. FINANCES

Funding for the BPP is dependent almost totally from donations from the general public and from the sale of the BPP newspaper. The newspaper, itself, which has in the past been a constant source of revenue, has dwindled considerably and the party membership generally sells fewer than 200 copies of the newspaper per month.

Donations to the Party have regularly come from area churches and from individual contributions by persons who have benefited from the BPP Free Ambulance Service. These donations vary in amounts; however, generally funds are obtained a few dollars at a time.

Additionally, donations to the Party have also come from individuals supporting the Jo Ann Little movement which evolved in the Winston-Salem area during the spring and summer of 1975 as a result of an ongoing investigation and subsequent trial being held in Raleigh, North Carolina, during August, 1975, at which time JO ANN LITTLE, a Negro female, was charged with the murder of a white Beaufort County Jailer and subsequently acquitted in that trial.

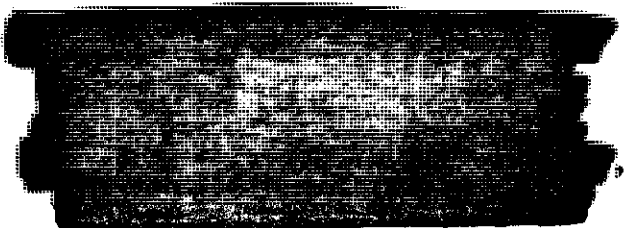
The newspaper, The Black Panther, sells for 25¢ a copy and half the proceeds from the newspaper sales are forwarded to the BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California. Proceeds from donations are regularly spent on gas and oil and upkeep for the BPP ambulance and other vehicles as well as maintaining headquarters and also for payment to BPP officers for their expenses.

In view of the shortage of funds and the almost complete turnover in funding on a monthly basis, the BPP operates on a strictly cash basis. The cash box is maintained at the BPP Headquarters under the control of LARRY LITTLE, Leader of the BPP.

BPP members are generally unemployed and devote their full time and energy to BPP-sponsored programs. However, from time to time BPP members are encouraged to obtain part-time employment in order to fund the generally depleted revenues of the Party itself and to assist in the funding of the ambulance service.

During this reporting period, the BPP received \$5,000 from the National Episcopal Church as a gift for the continuation of the BPP Free Ambulance Service; however, these funds went for insurance purposes which were already past due and allowed for the continuation of the Ambulance Service without any further benefits.

The BPP has attempted to obtain additional funding through means such as benefit shows and publicity campaigns; however, to date none of these programs have been effective. The Ambulance Program on occasion has been "temporarily suspended" due to the lack of funds.



Continuation of BPP Organization

II. BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) ACTIVITIES

A. ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS

BRADFORD LILLEY and RANDOLPH JENNINGS, two of three members of the BPP identified as "The High Point Three" continue to be incarcerated in the North Carolina Department of Correction (NCDC) and serving seven to ten year sentences as a result of their convictions for Assault With a Deadly Weapon With Intent to Kill on February 4, 1972, in High Point, North Carolina.

LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three" was paroled on March 4, 1974, and is no longer serving an active sentence and is no longer associated with the BPP.

[REDACTED]

2. LARRY LITTLE

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE was scheduled to be tried in Forsyth County Superior Court, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, during the October, 1973, term on the charge of Carrying a Concealed Weapon. This charge stemmed from a January, 1971, incident, when LITTLE was observed by a Forsyth County Deputy Sheriff at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to be carrying a .38 caliber pistol. The trial was postponed indefinitely as LITTLE's attorney had other cases pending in Federal Court. To date the LITTLE matter has not gone to trial.

[REDACTED]

B. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

1. FREE PROGRAMS

Free Clothing Program is not operational.

Free Pest Control Program is not operational.

Free Breakfast for Children Program is not operational.

George Jackson Liberation School is not operational.

Free Ambulance Program is presently operational.

Member of Subject Organization

[REDACTED]

2. JOSEPH WADDELL's PEOPLES FREE AMBULANCE SERVICE

The BPP, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, having successfully established a Peoples Free Ambulance Service

in January of 1974, have continued to operate that ambulance service on an erratic and sometime limited basis since that time. The ambulance itself, in theory, operates 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and is dispatched through the Forsyth County Central Dispatch Office which also controls the County operated ambulance service. The BPP ambulance charges no fee but will accept a donation from anyone that it picks up and operates primarily in the black sections of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. U


The ambulance program, initially organized and established by NELSON MALLOY, JR., who is Titler head of the Black Panther Party, is continued to be directed by MALLOY who supervises all the ambulance work and maintains drivers and technicians. Obtaining necessary manpower has continued to be a problem for the BPP as a driver and a technician is required in the ambulance at all times; however, individuals willing to donate their time to the ambulance service without pay are extremely limited and the result has been that a few individuals operate long hours in order to maintain the service. MALLOY often functions as a driver or technician and relieves other BPP members who also function in dual roles in order to keep the ambulance service going. U

In addition to lack of manpower, the Free Ambulance Service also suffers from a severe lack of funds due to decreased sale in the BPP newspaper as well as a lessening in donations and due to the fact that LARRY LITTLE, leader of the BPP, continued through the reporting period to support the Jo Ann Little Movement and had little interest in the Free Ambulance Service. U

During the reporting period, the ambulance service was often grounded due to mechanical failures and lack of funds in order to make necessary repairs and also on one occasion was grounded due to the fact the BPP had failed to make necessary insurance payments on the vehicle. Although limited funds were furnished by the National Episcopal Church of New York, New York, these funds have been depleted and Panther members continue to seek donations from area churches, businesses and community leaders. The Free Ambulance Service also obtains donations from individuals that the ambulance transports to and from local hospitals.

To date, no additional plans have begun to house the ambulance in a garage facility behind BPP Headquarters as the building has not been built and there is no indication that it will be built in the foreseeable future. ()

Community support for the ambulance service has not been as strong as in the past due to some publicity and that regard is a result of the ambulance traveling at excessive speed with and/or without the emergency lights blinking when the ambulance was not on an emergency run. The BPP has also been criticized for using the ambulance () for personal business of BPP members.



3. JO ANN LITTLE MOVEMENT


During this reporting period, JO ANN LITTLE, a black female, confined in the Beaufort County Jail, Beaufort County, North Carolina, was accused of murdering the Jailer, a white male, as a means of effecting her escape from that institution. JO ANN LITTLE claimed the jailer had attempted to rape her and she had only defended herself. A trial was subsequently held at Raleigh, North Carolina, during August, 1975, at which time national attention was brought there on the result of the trial as a result of a public campaign directed by LARRY LITTLE, leader of the BPP and other black leaders who charged that LITTLE would have never been brought to trial had it been a white woman. Trial ended in the acquittal of LITTLE and LITTLE has subsequently begun a speaking tour on behalf of black women's rights. ()

Members of the BPP at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, participated in the efforts to dramatize the trial proceedings at Raleigh, North Carolina, and under the direction of LARRY LITTLE, traveled in the eastern part of North Carolina building support for the movement. BPP members additionally assisted

in obtaining transportation for interested citizens to attend the trial in Raleigh, North Carolina, and additionally, led public demonstrations in Winston-Salem during the trial proceedings in support for JO ANN LITTLE. (1)

JO ANN LITTLE appeared at public demonstrations as well as support rallies on her behalf throughout North Carolina including a rally in April, 1975, at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, sponsored by the BPP. (1)

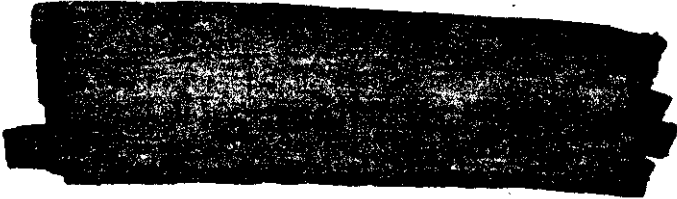
Funds for JO ANN LITTLE were solicited by BPP members in North Carolina, particularly Winston-Salem, and funds obtained through donations for the continuation of the BPP Free Ambulance Service were diverted toward the JO ANN LITTLE trial.



G. WEAPONS AND FORTIFICATIONS

The BPP continued during this reporting period to create and maintain an image of nonviolence and in that regard, the BPP membership at no time has been observed displaying any weapons or maintaining any weapons at BPP Headquarters, 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Additionally, no efforts have been made to fortify the Headquarters in any way nor has any information been received indicating that there are weapons maintained or have fortifications been installed at the BPP and located at 1106-D East 10th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. (1)

Additionally, no information has been received indicating that the BPP membership is in possession of any materials which could be utilized to manufacture explosive items or incendiary devices nor is there information indicating that the BPP has access to a stockpile of weapons.



APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics, and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution.

While openly advocating direct overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence until 1971, leaders have since avoided extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order. Newton, in an interview appearing in the May, 1973, issue of "Playboy" magazine, stated the Panthers' chief ambition is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence.

BPP national headquarters, also known as Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, as of May, 1974, continued to be located in Oakland, California, with branches throughout the country.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
EM

DATE: 9/8/75

Re Charlotte letter to Bureau 7/28/75.

[REDACTED]

No additional information has been developed from informants or newspaper sources concerning the theft of the report of SA ZACHARY T. LOWE dated 3/26/73, concerning CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER.

This matter concerning the theft of the FBI report of SA LOWE was discussed in detail with AUSA BENJAMIN H. WHITE, JR. on 8/28/75. Mr. WHITE indicated that he would decline prosecution since it would be questionable as to whether prosecution could ever be effected in view of the overall circumstances involved in this case. His declination of prosecution was confirmed in writing. (1)

105-165706-8-758

As indicated in the referenced communication, efforts are continuing to cultivate the Winston-Salem Journal in order to develop a favorable rapport which would preclude any future publication of our documents. Since the date of the publication of information concerning SA LOWE's report, no unfavorable articles concerning the FBI have appeared in this newspaper.

(2) - Bureau
(3) - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171) (BPP)

[REDACTED]

JDK:cbw
(5)



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SEP 10 1975

EPYD
1571

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-50)

DATE: 9/4/75

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
HEWTON FACTION
NEW YORK DIVISION COMMUNICATIONS -
TELEPHONE RECORDS
EIU - BPT

(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

Re New York letters to Bureau, 4/17/75 and 8/18/75.

For the information of the New York Division, telephone number 919-724-3951 [REDACTED] is subscribed to by the Black Panther Party's sponsored Free Ambulance Service, which is headquartered at Black Panther Party Headquarters in Winston-Salem, N. C., 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, N. C. The number is a publicly listed number and the telephone is answered as Black Panther Party Free Ambulance Service.

REC-105

105-165706-8-757

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - New York (100-161993)
- 1 - San Francisco (157-1534) (info)
- 2 - Charlotte

STL:pbl
(7)

1 SEP 9 1975



5010-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

DATE: 7/28/75

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
EM

ReBulet to Charlotte dated 6/13/75.

In an effort to develop additional information concerning the theft of the report of SA ZACHARY T. LOWE dated 3/26/73, continuous contact has been maintained with logical sources without developing any significant data. The only outstanding investigation remaining involves the interview of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The Bureau is in receipt of all pertinent background.

Charlotte has considered interviewing HOWARD CARR, reporter for the Winston-Salem Journal, and also contacting the publisher and managing editor for this newspaper. However, it is believed that this could result in possible embarrassment to the Bureau as well as further publication of this entire matter. In addition, these newspaper officials might seriously question our interest in view of the time lapse. Further, since the Winston-Salem Journal has shown a policy of partiality in their articles dealing with the Black Panther Party (BPP) local chapter, this might well serve as an opportunity to show FBI harassment of the BPP.

Since this article involving SA LOWE's report was published in February, 1975, the Winston-Salem Journal has given the FBI some favorable publicity and to date there have been no unfavorable articles. Attempts are continuing to cultivate this newspaper in order to develop a more advantageous position with regard to the FBI which, if successful, would preclude any future publication of FBI documents. Further, since it is questionable that information developed from this newspaper may prove useful in any prosecution of the theft of government property, Charlotte is not recommending any direct approach with either the reporter or newspaper officials.

105-165706-8-756

2 - Bureau
2 - Charlotte



5010-110

JPK:cbw
(4)

7 JUL 29

FIVE

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CE 157-6171

Upon receipt of the results of the U. S. Army's interview with enlisted man [REDACTED] presently on active duty at [REDACTED] this matter will be presented to the U. S. Attorney for prosecutive opinion.)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

6 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
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105-165706-8-755

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- 1 - Legal Counf Division
- 1 - General Investigative Division
- 1 - External Affairs Division

SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

6/13/75

EX 103

Director, FBI (105-165706)-8-754
REC-56

- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (CHARLOTTE DIVISION)
EXTREMIST MATTER

ReBuairtel 3/19/75 and BAairtel 4/28/75.

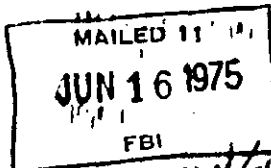
Enclosed for Charlotte are copies of documents from the files of the United States Army Crime Records Directorate (USACRD), and Defense Investigative Service (DIS), Fort Holabird, Maryland. From review of Baltimore airtel it may be seen that further efforts to substantiate dissemination or reproduction of the FBI report on Charles Zollicoffer maintained by the Army would not be productive. According to officials at Fort Meade, [REDACTED] would at no time have authority to review investigative records concerning himself and investigative reports such as those enclosed would not be placed in personnel records which accompany him to various duty stations.

[REDACTED]

In the interim you should complete any pending investigation underway in this matter and consider the following prior to presentation of the possible theft of Government property matter to the United States Attorney: Although reporter Howard Carr of the Winston-Salem Journal, in order

Enclosures (9)

WDF:mod
(10)



SEE NOTE PAGE 2

Assoc. Dir.
Dep. AD Adm.
Dep. AD Inv.
Asst. Dir.:
Admin.
Comp. Syst.
Ext. Affairs
Files & Com.
Gen. Inv.
Ident.
Inspection
Intell.
Laboratory
Plan. & Eval.
Spec. Inv.
Training
Legal Coun.
Telephone Rm.
Director Sec'y

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

GPO

Letter to Charlotte
Re: Black Panther Party
(Charlotte Division)
105-165706

to protect his sources, may not desire to furnish the identity of the individual from whom he received the FBI report, he may respond to questions regarding the possible theft of the report which is Government property. Charlotte should weigh the pros and cons of attempting such interview along with feasibility, based upon current relations, of contacting someone in a management position at the newspaper for possible assistance in this matter.

Submit for FBIHQ approval, your recommended course of action along with results of any additional investigation conducted since receipt of referenced Bureau airtel. It is emphasized that you should make every effort through informants to disclose details as to how members of the BPP in Charlotte came into possession of the FBI report.

NOTE:

See memorandum [REDACTED] to Mr. [REDACTED]
dated 6/11/75, and prepared by WDF:mod.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- 1 - Legal Counsel Division
- 1 - General Investigative Division
(Attn: Mr. [REDACTED])

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

TO : Mr. [REDACTED]

FROM : [REDACTED] 6/11/75

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(CHARLOTTE DIVISION)
EXTREMIST MATTER

- DATE: 6/11/75
- 1 - External Affairs Division
(Attn: [REDACTED])
 - 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
 - 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
 - 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
 - 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

PURPOSE:

To recommend interview of [REDACTED] through our Liaison Section relative to his knowledge of where a Winston-Salem Journal reporter obtained a copy of an FBI report on [REDACTED] dated 2/26/73; and to recommend approval of attached letter to Charlotte with instructions regarding remaining investigation in this matter.

BACKGROUND:

Memorandum to Mr. [REDACTED] 7/75 set forth fact that the above report captioned "Charles Ray Zollicoffer, EM-BPP," written by SA Zachary T. Lowe, had apparently fallen into the hands of a reporter for the Winston-Salem Journal and portions of the report were quoted in the 2/14/75 edition of that newspaper. Disseminated copies of the report have been accounted for; however, it was determined that an additional copy of the report was furnished Army prior to the entry [REDACTED] Charlotte informants have advised that the report or a copy of it was furnished to the Winston-Salem Journal by unknown individuals associated with the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Charlotte and from comments made, apparently Charles Zollicoffer had seen the report. Above memorandum allowed for [REDACTED] had access to the report [REDACTED]

Enclosures

WDF:mod,
(8)

CONTINUED - OVER

REC-56

105-165706-8 - 754 JUN 24 1975

Memorandum to [REDACTED]
Re: Black Panther Party
(Charlotte Division)

PRESENT SITUATION AND OBSERVATIONS:

[REDACTED]

While the reporter for the Winston-Salem Journal possibly would not desire to reveal the source of his information or method of access to the FBI report, he may respond to questioning regarding the possible theft of Government property violation in which he could be involved. Recommendations of SAC, Charlotte, are called for regarding such an interview as well as the SAC's recommendations concerning contact with someone in a management position at the Winston-Salem Journal with whom relations appear to be cordial. It further appears that interview of James Zollicoffer, interview of the reporter and/or the management level of the newspaper and resolution of any other outstanding investigation to determine the leak of the document should be conducted, prior to the entire matter being presented to the United States Attorney for a prosecutive opinion relative to a violation of Title 18, Section 641, Theft of Government Property.

This matter has been coordinated with Supervisor [REDACTED] of the General Investigative Division and with Supervisor [REDACTED] of the External Affairs Division. J

SEE RECOMMENDATIONS PAGE 3

Memorandum to [REDACTED]
Re: Black Panther Party
(Charlotte Division)

RECOMMENDATIONS:

2. That attached letter be approved and sent to
SAC, Charlotte.

WF *unin*

RECEIVED

6/11

John



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
May 28, 1975

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA
(Bureau File: 157-)
(Charlotte File: 157-9763)
CHARACTERIZATION OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION
EXTREMIST MATTER

RUSSELL EDWARD McDONALD and his wife, MARY KATHERINE McDONALD, established an independent organization on February 20, 1974, in Lumberton, North Carolina, known as the Black Panther Party (BPP). McDONALD and his wife are former members of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Chapter of the BPP which has its National Headquarters in Oakland, California, but this BPP organization in Lumberton has no connection with that organization, nor with any other organization. ()

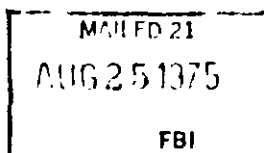
The purpose of this BPP is to enable Blacks to obtain greater economic leverage and more power in the Lumberton, North Carolina, area. .1

This organization became defunct in the Summer of 1974.

The BPP with headquarters in Oakland, California, has the publicly stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics and destiny of the black community. In 1973, its leader publicly stated that the chief ambition of the BPP is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence. ()

(Source is [REDACTED])

(Source has furnished reliable information in the past.)



APPROVED

Date

AUG 26 1975

Handwritten signature/initials

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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F B I

Date: 4/4/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
 FROM: *G/R* SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 QUARTERLY SUMMARY
 EM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 1/8/75.

PART IThe following information was obtained or confirmed
by Organization and Status

The Black Panther Party (BPP), Winston-Salem, N. C.,
 Headquarters is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue. *U*

Membership

RLC-22 105-165706-8-752
 Assigned 9
 In Jail 2
 Temporarily Assigned Else-
 where 2
 Total Active in Charlotte
 Division 5

16 APR 8 1975

Community Workers

15 (estimated)

2-1-6
 2 - Bureau (RM)
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
 2 - Charlotte
 ZTL:stp
 (6)

FIVE

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

50 APR 23 1975

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Leadership

NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR.
Field Lieutenant

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Director of Public Relations

CHARLES ZOLLICOFFER
Director of the Free Ambulance Program

MARIE MOORE
Treasurer and Secretary; Second in Command

BPP Pads

1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, N. C.

1106-D East 19th Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Community Activities

A. Free Clothing Program

Not Operational

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not Operational

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program

Not Operational

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

D. George Jackson Liberation School

Not Operational ()

E. Free Ambulance Program

Limited Operation ()

Arrests and Convictions

Two of three members of the BPP at High Point, N. C., known as "The High Point Three," and serving jail terms in the State of North Carolina, from 7 to 10 years resulting from their convictions on charges of being armed with a deadly weapon, continue to remain in jail, however, it is anticipated that SAMMY LEE CARTER will be paroled in the near future. LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three," was paroled from the North Carolina Department of Correction (NCDC) effective 3/6/74. ()

Finances

Funding for the BPP at Winston-Salem, N. C., continues to remain solely dependent upon donations from the community and from the sale of the BPP newspaper. Both these sources of income, however, are extremely limited, and during January, February, and March, 1975, sufficient funding was not available to provide continuous ambulance service. ()

As a result of an earlier contact by LARRY LITTLE with the National Episcopal Church in New York City during November through December, 1974, the BPP has been awarded an additional grant of \$5,000 from that institution, and these funds are supposedly to be used for insurance purposes on the ambulance which is approximately \$4,400 annually. ()

3

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

The ambulance service has been interrupted continuously during this period as a result of costly repairs, and funds are not available to meet all bills incurred. ✓

At the present time, the Ambulance Program is not operational. However, the program has been operative during the reporting period, and sources indicate the BPP is determined to keep the program going if only on a limited basis. ✓

PART II

The following is a summary of the BPP activities in the Charlotte Division for the months of January, February, and March, 1975: ✓

The BPP at Winston-Salem, N. C., continues to maintain headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue in Winston-Salem, and Panther members continue to reside at 1106-D East 19th Street, Winston-Salem, N. C., regarded as a BPP pad. ✓

During this period, BEATRICE FULTON, the Party's Secretary, became less active and is no longer the Secretary for the BPP, and those duties have been taken over by MARIE MOORE. ✓

During this period, the BPP, under the leadership of LARRY LITTLE as the Director of Public Relations, seized upon the popular quote, "Free JOANN LITTLE," cause in North Carolina. JOANN LITTLE, a black female from Beaufort County, N. C., has been charged with the murder of a Beaufort County Jailor while she was a prisoner in the Beaufort County Jail during August, 1974. Black organizations and others are charging JOANN LITTLE (no relation to LARRY LITTLE) was the victim of a sexual attack by the jailor, and if she had been a white woman, no charges would have been made as she had the right to defend herself. LARRY LITTLE has been placed in

4

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

charge of a state-wide publicity campaign on her behalf, and is actively seeking support for and donations to the "Free JOANN LITTLE Movement." U

The BPP assisted in the sponsorship of a rally on 4/3/75 at Winston-Salem, N. C., attended by JOANN LITTLE and others which resulted in extensive publicity in the Winston-Salem area. Donations, however, received during the rally amounted to less than \$700. U

The BPP's support for the rights of black women to defend themselves from white men in reference to JOANN LITTLE has resulted in increased sympathizers and community workers. However, it is anticipated these newcomers will be limited in duration and are primarily interested in JOANN LITTLE's upcoming April, 1975, trial. U

As a result of the BPP's attention to the JOANN LITTLE matter, the Free Ambulance Program again is without support or funds and will not be operational until after the trial of JOANN LITTLE. U

5

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/1/75

FROM: C/K SAC, CHARLOTTE [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
EXTREMIST MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

(OO: CHARLOTTE)

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an investigative summary. Two copies of FD-376 attached.

Copies of investigative summary being disseminated to Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C.; and INS, Norfolk, Virginia, in view of subject's alien status.

Subject does not meet ADEX criteria.

The following have been identified as relatives of the subject:

Wife: [REDACTED]

Father: [REDACTED]

Mother: [REDACTED]

REC-89

105-165706-8-751

2 - Bureau (Encl-5)
1 - Charlotte

RRG:gs
(3)

4/24/75

105-165706-8-751

105-165706-8-751

105-165706-8-751



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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105-165706-8-751 page 2

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
April 1, 1975

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

INVESTIGATIVE SUMMARY

[REDACTED]
EXTREMIST MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

This investigation is based on information which indicates that [REDACTED] in view of his affiliation with the Black Panther Party (BPP) (See Appendix), is engaged in activities which could involve a violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), or 2385 (Advocating the Overthrow of the United States Government).

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised an Agent of the FBI that he has read about the BPP in the newspaper but has never discussed the BPP or politics with any individual in this country. He stated he is aware of the rules relating to [REDACTED] employees and has never assisted [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

11-11-75

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly-stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution. BPP national headquarters, aka Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, is located in Oakland, California.

While openly advocating direct overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence until 1971, leaders have since avoided extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order. Newton, in an interview appearing in the May, 1973, issue of "Playboy" magazine, stated the Panthers' chief ambition is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence.

Despite its claimed dedication to community service, indicators of the BPP's continued attraction to violence persist. Since July, 1974, Newton and other BPP members have been arrested in Oakland, California, for threatening police officers, murder of a 17-year old female and the pistol whipping of Newton's tailor. Newton failed to appear on these charges and is now a local fugitive. Additionally, one died and three were wounded as a result of a shooting at a BPP-sponsored dance in Oakland, California, in October, 1974.

FBI

Date: 3/4/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 EM

ReBuAirtel 2/27/75.

Enclosed is a copy of an article captioned, "Hoover Would Have Been Proud" which appeared in the Winston-Salem Journal on 2/16/75, and a copy of Director KELLEY's letter to Mr. JOE DOSTER, Managing Editor, Winston-Salem Journal, dated 2/27/75.

For the information of FBIHQ, Mr. CHARLES W. CROWDER is Vice President, General Manager, and Publisher, and Mr. JOE DOSTER is Managing Editor of the Winston-Salem Journal. Charlotte indices contain no record for either Mr. CROWDER or Mr. DOSTER. Charlotte indices contain no references identifiable with HOWARD CARR, author of the article captioned, "FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers", which appeared in the 2/14 issue of that newspaper. There is one reference in Charlotte files concerning a [REDACTED] who requested information concerning our Top Ten Fugitive Program by letter dated 8/25/72, at the time he was a student at the [REDACTED]. At the present time Charlotte enjoys cordial relations with this newspaper and a good working relationship exists with several of the staff reporters. Charlotte has not had occasion to contact the management level of this newspaper and our rapport on this level is unknown. ^{RFC-71}

2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) ENCLOSURE
 3 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171) (BPP)

JPK:cbw
 (5)

1 MAR 6 1975

Approved: [Signature]
 57 APR 10 1975
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)
CE 157-6171

A review of the Charlotte file dealing with our press relations with the Winston-Salem Journal indicates that in general this newspaper has published some very favorable articles concerning the FBI as recently evidenced in attached copy of an article which was most complimentary. It is to be noted that as a result of this latter article, the Director by letter dated 2/27/75, expressed his appreciation for this favorable item appearing in the 2/16/75, edition of their Sunday newspaper. There had been some unfavorable items directed toward our former Director, Mr. HOOVER, over the past years and there also have been some very complimentary articles concerning Mr. HOOVER. In general, our relationship would appear to be amiable for the last several years and there has been no criticism of the Bureau appearing in this newspaper.

It should be pointed out that this newspaper has published several items which have presented the Winston-Salem Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in a very favorable fashion. The Free Ambulance Service operated by the Winston-Salem BPP Chapter has been praised in several articles over the past year. An editorial appeared last fall concerning LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, leader of the Winston-Salem Chapter of the BPP, which was very complimentary and expressed regret inasmuch as he was leaving the area at that time. LITTLE is [REDACTED] The policy of the newspaper for some time indicates a hospitable attitude toward the BPP which may account for the basis of the article in question.

Regarding the discrepancy noted by the Bureau in referenced communication concerning the number of copies of report of SA ZACHARY T. LOWE dated 2/26/73, entitled, "CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER, aka, EM - BPP", the correct number should have been an original and 8 copies of this report were prepared which would account for the correct number of copies as being 9.)

For the information of the Bureau, a newspaper source of the Winston-Salem Journal has advised that he learned that one of the members of the Winston-Salem Chapter of the BPP

-2-

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

approached HOWARD CARR, the reporter, concerning the information which appears in the article of 2/14/75, dealing with the BPP. This source did not know if this member had the original copy or a reproduction of SA LOWE's report, but that either CHARLES ZOLLICOFFER or his brother, JAMES, had seen the original report when it was shown to either one for his review. It appears that JAMES ZOLLICOFFER could well be the source of this information from SA LOWE's report since a copy of this report was made available to the U. S. Army in connection with their inquiry regarding him as was noted in referenced Bureau communication. This newspaper source is unable to furnish any additional information concerning who may have a copy of this report or if the writer would cooperate in any manner regarding the identification of the person furnishing report or any information concerning the BPP.

[REDACTED]

At the present time our coverage of the BPP is deemed adequate; however, in the event of any increase in BPP membership or activities, our coverage might be difficult since the disclosure of our use of informants in connection with the BPP.

RECOMMENDATION:

Charlotte recommends that every effort be made to first identify the individual who may have furnished a copy or reproduction of SA LOWE's report to HOWARD CARR, reporter for the Winston-Salem Journal. In this regard, Charlotte will determine if [REDACTED]

LHM will be promptly submitted to the Bureau to ascertain if JAMES ZOLLICOFFER was shown a copy of SA LOWE's report by military authorities. Based upon the outcome of this inquiry

-3-

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

with the U. S. Army, consideration will be given to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

No recommendation is being made at this time to contacting the management of the Winston-Salem Journal until the foregoing is resolved.)

The Bureau will be fully apprised of the efforts to identify the individual responsible for furnishing copy or reproduction of SA LOWE's report to this newspaper.)

-4-

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Hoover Would Have Been Proud

page, name of
er, city and state.)

Louis A. Giovanetti, an FBI man for 24 years, popped a Luden's cough drop into his mouth and let it be known that he did indeed watch THAT television show.

"Efrem Zimbalist Jr. (star of "The FBI" series) has done a lot for us. He portrayed what we like to think of as the image of FBI agents—attractive, professional and never a hint of any personal or professional impropriety.

"But he flew more helicopters in that series than I ever have"

Giovanetti, 51, is the new head of FBI operations in North Carolina. He was in Winston-Salem last week to speak to local lawmen about law enforcement.

Before his speech, he talked with a reporter in a room down the hall from the FBI office in the post office building.

At first glance, Giovanetti looks a bit like Zimbalist, with black hair brushed neatly back, a touch of gray around the regulation-short sideburns, and inconspicuous blue eyes and wearing an equally inconspicuous blue suit.

But after talking with Giovanetti, it seems more likely that Zimbalist was picked to look and act like Giovanetti.

From his unshakable loyalty to his organization and his country to his little tie tack with the FBI insignia on it, Giovanetti is the kind of agent J. Edgar Hoover could have had sweet dreams about.

And Giovanetti is proud of what he is.

"Becoming an FBI agent was sort of like a childhood dream for me," he said.

He became an agent in the early 1950s, after growing up in Massachusetts, flying for the Navy in World War II and graduating from Boston University.

Giovanetti moved to Charlotte in December to oversee almost "100 FBI agents in the state." His move was the latest part of a federal shuffle that moved him and his

ID WINSTON-SALEM
JOURNAL & SENTINEL
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Date: 2/16/75

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: CE

☐ Being Investigated

Winston-Salem

family five times in the past 10 years.

His previous assignment was in Denver, Colo.

"You either become adjusted to moving or resign," he said.

Giovanetti became an agent during the J. Edgar Hoover regime, learning the ropes under Hoover men and teaching those ropes to others.

He followed bureau policy to the letter and when the policy was not to talk to newsmen, he didn't talk.

But when Hoover died and policy changed under new leaders, he followed that bureau policy.

"I haven't made a 'no comment' to a reporter in three years now."

The policy now is for openness, even on sensitive topics.

So he leaned his forehead against his hand and talked.

On the Patty Hearst case, for example:

"It's embarrassing. We haven't been faced with this problem in a long, long time; with an intelligent person stymieing the resources of perhaps the world's greatest investigative organization."

Or on recent charges that the FBI has compiled files on the personal lives of public figures:

"Ours is an intelligence-gathering function. If they (agents) receive information they think might be useful later on, it is their responsibility to index it."

But, he said, agents don't go after gossip.

Giovanetti said stories about the FBI compiling dossiers on Americans, and stories about the Central Intelligence Agency's activities here and abroad, have hurt the bureau.

But he said the FBI has never lacked for qualified applicants, and the bureau is still able to get "the cream of our young people, both men and women."

Turnover among the 8,600 agents is next to nothing, he said, and the standards for agents (a law or accounting degree) have not dropped.

"We start new agents at \$17,000 a year, and I think that's

comparable to what they could be making in business."

But Giovanetti harbors another worry about allegations against the FBI and the public hearings that will look into the bureau's operations.

He fears the hearings might provide too much information for spies.

Not subversives, or "foreign intelligence gatherers," but plain old spies, the kind the bureau has been after for years.

Here the hand came down from the forehead and he leaned forward.

"I can assure you that our adversaries in this world have not changed their goals."

The adversaries, he said, are still the Communist countries. And the tactic of planting spies in the United States is still a reality, he said.

"I'm not divulging anything when I say we know this is planned years and years in advance."

But here in North Carolina, the FBI is kept busy investigating the state's bank robberies: 67 last year and already 19 this year.

"We handle the cases from investigation through court," Giovanetti said.

He still has enough of a Boston accent to have agents following the case into "cot."

Most of Giovanetti's duties keep him office-bound, but he tries to get into action as often as possible.

Although he was not wearing his pistol when he was here, it was in his luggage: just in case . . .

"I've often tried to think of what I would have wanted to do if I hadn't been an agent," he said.

"I've never come up with an answer."

A laugh started somewhere behind that FBI tie tack, and worked its way up.



Louis A. Giovanetti is the new head of FBI operations in
North Carolina.

February 27, 1975

Mr. Joe Doster
Managing Editor
Winston-Salem Journal and
Sentinel
416-420 North Marshall Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 21701

Dear Mr. Doster:

I have read the article entitled "Hoover Would Have Been Proud" that appeared in your newspaper on February 16, 1975. This feature is a splendid introduction to your readers of the new Special Agent in Charge of the Charlotte FBI Office, Mr. Louis A. Civenetti.

I am indeed appreciative of your efforts and hope the FBI will continue to merit your support.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

① - Charlotte

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 1 1975	
FBI - CHARLOTTE	

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- 1 - Legal Counsel Division
- 1 - General Investigative Division
- 1 - External Affairs Division

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Legal Coun. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

TO :

Mr. [REDACTED]

DATE: 3/17/75

FROM :

- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

SUBJECT :

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(CHARLOTTE DIVISION)
EXTREMIST MATTER

PURPOSE:

This is to recommend that inquiry be made of Headquarters, U. S. Army, in connection with investigation to identify the person(s) responsible for an FBI report falling into the hands of the Charlotte, North Carolina, Black Panther Party (BPP) and subsequently into the possession of a writer for The Winston-Salem Journal. To also recommend approval of attached airtel to Charlotte advising that Headquarters contact with Army is being made and instructing that investigative efforts should continue in the interim.

EX-110

BACKGROUND:

REC-505-165706-8-749

On 2/26/73, SA Zachary T. Lowe, Charlotte Division, prepared a report concerning Charles Ray Zollicoffer who had been previously identified as a member of the BPP at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Of the nine copies of the report which were prepared, five copies were submitted to FBIHQ, one copy was furnished to Secret Service, Charlotte, and three copies were retained in the Charlotte Office. Inasmuch as all copies retained by the FBI (Headquarters and Charlotte) have been accounted for, of concern are those which were disseminated. Two were furnished to the Department, two to Secret Service (one each at Headquarters and in Charlotte, which copy was destroyed by Charlotte Secret Service shortly after receipt), and an additional copy was made at FBIHQ and furnished in April, 1973, to National Agency Check Center (NACC) for forwarding to the U. S. Army which had requested information concerning [REDACTED] 1976

Enclosures
105-165706

CONTINUED - OVER

WDF:y1/lfj/ekw
(8)

51 APR 08 1975
ENCLOSURE

WF

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall
Re: Black Panther Party
(Charlotte Division)
105-155706

In the 2/14/75 edition of The Winston-Salem Journal appeared an article entitled "FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers, Members Regarded As Possible Security Risks." The article generally discusses COINTELPRO activities against the BPP as disclosed in a document establishing COINTELPRO made public in March of 1974 by then Attorney General (AG) William Saxbe. It discusses the effect such tactics had on the BPP in North Carolina and questioned the FBI's need to continue BPP investigation. The article advised that in a report on Charles Zollicoffer "made available to the Journal, Zachary T. Lowe, an agent in the Winston-Salem Office, cited three informants - identified only as CE T-1, CE T-2 and CE T-3..." The language in the article pinpoints the communication from which information was taken as being the report on Charles Ray Zollicoffer dated 2/26/73.

Charlotte informants have advised that the report or a copy of it was furnished to The Winston-Salem Journal by unknown individuals associated with the BPP in Charlotte. [redacted] source advised that from comments made by him, Charles Ray Zollicoffer apparently had seen the report.

By airtel 2/6/75, Charlotte furnished an LHM, a copy of which is attached, setting forth details in this matter. SAC, Charlotte, recommends that Army be queried relative to [redacted]

[redacted] A physical accounting for the report by Army was also suggested by Charlotte. The Charlotte proposal is that following resolution of above, and based upon those findings, Charlotte will conduct all other investigation toward resolving possible Theft of Government Property violation, including [redacted] if necessary.

Intelligence Division agrees with this proposal and the recommendation of Charlotte to not contact The Winston-Salem Journal, such contact being premature at this stage.

Above action and decision that future supervision in this matter will be handled by Intelligence Division, has been coordinated with [redacted] General Investigative Division.

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. J. R. Wannall
Re: Black Panther Party
(Charlotte Division)
105-165706

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That Liaison Section, Intelligence Division, furnish copy of attached LHM to Headquarters, U. S. Army, for determination of matters mentioned above with respect to [REDACTED]

2. That attached airtel be approved and sent to SAC, Charlotte.

RECEIVED

JDC

Hester

500
PM



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
March 6, 1975

JAMES (NO MIDDLE NAME) ZOLLIFFER;
CHARLES RAY ZOLLIFFER
THEFT OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY MATTER

This investigation is predicated upon receipt of information that property belonging to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), specifically a report of Special Agent ZACHARY T. LOWE dated February 26, 1973, entitled, "CHARLES RAY ZOLLIFFER," may have been stolen and converted for the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 641, and/or Title 18, United States Code, Section 1024. ()

On February 26, 1973, ZACHARY T. LOWE, a Special Agent with the FBI, presently assigned to the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Resident Agency, prepared a report concerning CHARLES RAY ZOLLIFFER, who had been previously identified as a member of the Black Panther Party (BPP) at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. ()

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

ENCLOSURE

711

[REDACTED]

4. Copies of Special Agent LOWE's report were thereafter disseminated to appropriate interested Federal agencies.

In the February 14, 1975, edition of The Winston-Salem Journal, a local newspaper published in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, appeared an article written by Staff Reporter HOWARD CARR and entitled, "FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers, Members Regarded as Possible Security Risks." CARR reported in the article that an FBI report dated February 26, 1973, on CHARLES ZOLLICOFFER, a member of the BPP, and written by ZACHARY T. LOWE, an Agent in the FBI's Winston-Salem Office, had been recently made available to the Journal and that the report contained information furnished by three informants. CARR also reported that the FBI file provided information concerning CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER's age, marital status, brothers' criminal records, and other pertinent information.

On [REDACTED] advised that the February 26, 1973, report of Special Agent LOWE, referred to in the February 14, 1975, newspaper article, had been furnished to the newspaper reporter by unknown individuals associated with the BPP and that the report had been obtained while an unnamed individual or individuals were reviewing certain undisclosed records. CE T-1 advised that it was unknown whether or not the report was the actual report available in the undisclosed records or a copy of that report.

On [REDACTED] advised that BPP members at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had made the report of Special Agent LOWE available to The Winston-Salem Journal.

On [REDACTED] advised that CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER appeared to be the most knowledgeable BPP member concerning the report of Special Agent LOWE, and it was apparent from comments made by CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER that he had seen the report and/or had the report in his possession.

[REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] advised that, during 1972, CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER and his two brothers, JAMES ZOLLICOFFER and LEON ZOLLICOFFER, resided in an apartment on Bruce Street, near the Winston-Salem State University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and that, while residing there,)

[REDACTED]

3,
1

A review of pertinent FBI records revealed that on April 13, 1973, a copy of Special Agent LOWE's report was furnished to the National Agency Check Center for forwarding to the United States Army based on the United States Army's request of the FBI for information concerning [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

XXXXXX
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(C) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
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105-165706-8-749 enclosure pages 4-5

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly-stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution. BPP national headquarters, aka Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, is located in Oakland, California.

While openly advocating direct overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence until 1971, leaders have since avoided extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order. Newton, in an interview appearing in the May, 1973, issue of "Playboy" magazine, stated the Panthers' chief ambition is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence.

Despite its claimed dedication to community service, indicators of the BPP's continued attraction to violence persist. Since July, 1974, Newton and other BPP members have been arrested in Oakland, California, for threatening police officers, murder of a 17-year old female and the pistol whipping of Newton's tailor. Newton failed to appear on these charges and is now a local fugitive. Additionally, one died and three were wounded as a result of a shooting at a BPP-sponsored dance in Oakland, California, in October, 1974.

1 - Counsel Division
1 - General Investigative Division
1 - External Affairs Division
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Airtel

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

3/21/75

From: Director, FBI (105-165706)

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
EM

ReCEairtel & LHM 3/6/75 and CEairtel 3/4/75.

Resolution of information requested in your airtel 3/6/75 is being handled at FBIHQ through liaison with Headquarters, U. S. Army. You will be furnished results of the inquiry with Army at which time direction future investigation in this matter should follow will be more clearly defined. In the interim, you should make every effort to develop information through informants to determine how the report in question came to be in the possession of Black Panther Party (BPP) members in Charlotte.

FBIHQ agrees that contact with anyone at The Winston-Salem Journal would be premature at this point, and should not be made. Ensure FBIHQ is kept apprised of pertinent developments.

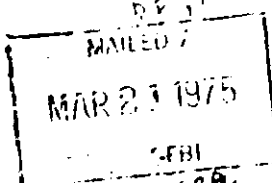
1 - Charlotte [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

WDF:yi/lfi
(12)

NOTE:

See memorandum [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] 3/17/75, captioned "Black Panther Party (Charlotte Division), Extremist Matter," prepared by WDF:yi/lfi. Above has been coordinated with Supervisor [REDACTED] General Investigative Division.



54 APR 04 1975

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

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105-165706-8-747

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F B I

Date: 3/6/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 EM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 2/14/75; Bureau
 airtel to Charlotte, 2/27/75; and Charlotte airtel to Bureau,
 3/4/75.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM
 captioned, [REDACTED]

INFORMANTS

Identity

Location

4 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
 1 (2 - 105-165706-Sub 8)

4 - Charlotte
 (2 - 157-6171)

Agency:
 Dept.

SAC CHARLOTTE

Date: 3/6/75

ZTL:stp
 (8)

How forwarded: RLSDate: MAR 11 1975By: WBF/hh

Approved: 4 APR 7 1975
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

REQUESTS OF THE BUREAU:

The Bureau is requested to determine through U. S. ()
Army the following:

[REDACTED]

(3) Determine whether or not the report of SA LOWE
is still in existence under military control and its present ()
location.

LEADS:CHARLOTTE:AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

[REDACTED]

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
March 6, 1975

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 641, and/or Title 18, United States Code, Section 1024.

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100-110000-1000
100-110000-1000

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-746 pages 4-5 (enclosure)

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APPENDIX

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F B I

Date: 2/25/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
 FROM: *S/A* SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 EM - BPP

Re Charlotte nitel to the Bureau 1/21/75, Bureau airtel to Charlotte 1/27/75, and New York nitel to the Bureau 1/28/75.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of LHM dated and captioned as above. Enclosed for San Francisco and New York are three copies each of LHM.

INFORMANTS

REC 17 105-165706-8-245

IDENTITYLOCATION

CE T-1 is a well-placed
 source

EX-110

FEB 28 1975

ENCLOSURE

2-Bureau (Encs. 5)
 3-New York (2-100-161993) (Encs. 3)

3-San Francisco (2-157-1204) (Encs. 3)

2-Charlotte

ZTL:jeb
 (10)

(Info)

(Info)

100-55
 100-155
 100-466-3
 100-7

APR 12 1975
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

February 25, 1975

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
EXTREMIST MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On January 21, 1975, CE T-1, whose reliability is () unknown, furnished the following information:

The National Episcopal Church (NEC) headquartered in New York City, New York, has tentatively approved a grant to the Black Panther Party (BPP) at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for use in the continuation of the BPP sponsored Free Ambulance Program. The NEC previously gave the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, \$35,700 for implementation of a free ambulance service and unconfirmed report sets the present request of the BPP at \$42,000; however, the approved figure is far less than the amount requested by the BPP (the exact figure not known at this time).

V A recommendation from the Bishop of the North Carolina Diocese is required by February 15, 1975, for final approval of the grant from the NEC. The Bishop of the North Carolina Diocese will make a recommendation after receipt of a committee survey in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, of the present ambulance service operation. Additionally, an investigator from the NEC in New York is presently in Winston-Salem for evaluation of the ambulance program. This NEC investigator, EARL ALBERT NEIL, appears closely associated with the BPP and particularly LARRY LITTLE, a present member of the BPP and former leader of the BPP in Winston-Salem.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER
RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS
OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR
AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE
NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

Source whose identity is
concealed herein has furnished
reliable information in the past
except where otherwise noted.

77

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is (1) attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

At a news conference held at BPP Headquarters in Winston-Salem on January 20, 1975, NEIL announced support for the BPP and its ambulance program prior to conducting any investigation or meeting with local church officials. NEIL is described as a Negro male, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEIL was allegedly the Rector at Saint Augustine's Episcopal Church, 2624 West Street, Oakland, California, from 1967 through 1974.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics, and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution.

While openly advocating direct overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence until 1971, leaders have since avoided extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order. Newton, in an interview appearing in the May, 1973, issue of "Playboy" magazine, stated the Panthers' chief ambition is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence.

BPP national headquarters, also known as Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, as of May, 1974, continued to be located in Oakland, California, with branches throughout the country.

APPENDIX

Airtel

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Charlotte Field Guidance
1 - Mr. [REDACTED] 2/27/75

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

From: Director, FBI (105-165706)-8-744

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
EM

PERSONAL ATTENTION

ReCEairtel 2/14/75.

Reairtel stated that information from Charlotte report of SA Zachary T. Lowe dated 2/26/73 captioned "Charles Ray Zollicoffer, aka, EM-BPP," appeared in an article in the 2/14/75 issue of the "Winston-Salem Journal," a Winston-Salem, North Carolina, daily newspaper. The article written by Howard Carr, states that the FBI file was recently made available to the Journal.

Reairtel did not contain your recommendations as to action to be taken as a result of the "Winston-Salem Journal" acquiring access to this report.

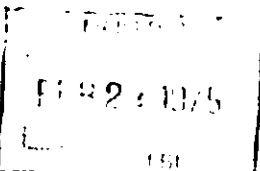
Immediately furnish FBIHQ with your recommendations in this regard. Include identities and results of indices checks regarding the "Winston-Salem Journal's" editor; publisher; and Carr. Also, include assessment of current relations between your office and the "Winston-Salem Journal."

Bureau files contain no references to Howard Carr; however, one [REDACTED] requested information on the Bureau's Top Ten fugitive program by letter in 8/72.

JPG:ekw
(7)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Assoc. Dir.
Dep. AD Adm.
Dep. AD Inv.
Asst. Dir.:
Admin.
Comp. Syst.
Ext. Affairs
Files & Com.
Gen. Inv.
Ident.
Inspection
Intell.
Laboratory
Plan. & Eval.
Spec. Inv.
Training
Legal Coun.
Telephone Rm.
Director Sec'y



61M/R07
MAIL ROOM [] TELETYPE UNIT []

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Airtel to SAC, Charlotte
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
105-165706

For your information, on 3/7/73 FBIHQ disseminated two copies of report in question to the Department of Justice, one copy was disseminated to Secret Service Headquarters, Washington, D. C., one copy was placed in file, and one copy was apparently destroyed. On 4/13/73, a copy was made and furnished to National Agency Check Center (NACC) for forwarding to the U. S. Army which had requested information concerning

[REDACTED]

Reairtel stated that original and seven copies of report were prepared; however, your itemization (five submitted to the Bureau, one copy for Secret Service, Charlotte, North Carolina, and three copies retained in the Charlotte file) would account for nine copies. Resolve this discrepancy.

NOTE: The "Winston-Salem Journal" article captioned "FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers" contained the statement "In a confidential FBI file which was recently made available to the Journal, Zachary T. Lowe, an Agent in the Winston-Salem Office, cited three informants - identified only as CE T-1, CE T-2, and CE T-3 - in a report on Charles Zollicoffer, a member of the chapter here. The cover sheet on the Feb. 23, 1973, report said 'all sources...whose identities are concealed in referenced communication, have furnished reliable information in the past.'" The cover sheet referred to is believed to be an FD-323, use of which has been discontinued. Report in question is an unclassified document. Information attributed to the report is accurate and it is apparent that the "Winston-Salem Journal" had access to the report. Charlotte reported that contact with Secret Service, Charlotte, North Carolina, revealed that copy received by it had been destroyed by shredding shortly after being received. Bureau files reflect that cordial relations existed with the "Winston-Salem Journal" prior to 10/69; however, since then numerous critical editorials of the FBI and former Director Hoover have appeared.

F B I

Date: 2/14/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 EM

Enclosed for the Bureau are 2 copies of a newspaper article captioned, "FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers", which appeared in the February 14, 1975, issue of the Winston-Salem Journal, a Winston-Salem, N. C., daily newspaper. It is noted that this article states, "In a confidential FBI file which was recently made available to the Journal, Zachary T. Lowe, an agent in the Winston-Salem office, cited three informants -- identified only as CE T-1, CE T-2, and CE T-3 -- in a report on Charles Zollicoffer, a member of the chapter here."

Charlotte files disclose that information in this article was taken from Charlotte report of SA ZACHARY T. LOWE dated 2/26/73, in case captioned, "CHARLES RAY ZOLLIFFER, aka EM - BPP", Bufile 157-28102. Charlotte file indicates that original and 7 copies of this report were prepared, 5 of which were submitted to the Bureau, one copy was designated for U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C., and 3 copies were retained in the Charlotte file. These 3 Charlotte copies are presently located in the Charlotte file on ZOLLIFFER.

On 2/14/75, contact was had with Mr. [REDACTED], U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C., at which time he advised that the copy of this report designated for his office had been destroyed by shredding shortly after it was received in his office. He stated that it is his practice to review these reports as they come in to determine if there is any direct interest to his office. They are then reviewed by SA [REDACTED]

(3) - Bureau (Enc. 2) ENCLOSURE
 (1 - 157-28102) REC 17/05-165706-8-7
 3 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171) LA-101

GHC:cbw
 (6)

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

also of his office, after which they are shredded by SA [REDACTED] if they contain no information of direct interest to his office. In this case, this report on ZOLLICOFFER was destroyed by shredding. (1)

The above information and this newspaper article are being submitted for the Bureau's appropriate attention and discretion as to what action the Bureau may desire to take. (1)

No further action is being taken by Charlotte pending receipt of advice from the Bureau. (1)

-2-

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers

Members Regarded as Possible Security Risks

By Howard Carr

Staff Writer

Despite the changes in both organizations over the past five years, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is still keeping a fairly close watch on the small chapter of the Black Panther Party here.

Panthers here call the FBI's activities—which include questioning Panther supporters and keeping files on Panther leaders—harassment, and say it has scared off many potential members and contributors.

But Louis A. Giovannelli, the special agent in charge of the Charlotte FBI office, says the Panthers are not a group we're particularly concerned with. Our policy toward them is the same as toward any group that has indicated dissatisfaction with the present system.

Giovannelli said that "if we are talking to people, and I'm sure we are, we certainly don't intend it as harassment. Any person can decline to talk to us, and we're not in a position to force them to talk."

Jimmy Brinkley, a local man who knows some Panthers here, said in a recent interview that the FBI inquired about him last year at several places—including a jewelry store where he owed money—before finally interviewing him.

"The guy wanted to know if the Panthers were still a revolutionary group—and if I were violent," Brinkley recalled. "Most of the questions he asked he already knew the answers to—he'd ask how the ambulance service was coming along, and then he'd come right back and ask 'What do you think about Larry (Little)?'"

Mrs. Phyllis Cornell, the wife of Julius Cornell, a former Panther here, said two agents stopped by her home "in the latter part of last winter, right before the primary. They asked what was going on up here, mostly political questions, but I just told them to go ask Larry."

The FBI has at least a rudimentary informant network, in a confidential FBI file which was recently made available to the Journal. Zachary T. Lowe, an agent in the Winston-Salem office, cited three informants—identified only as CE T-1, CE T-2 and CE T-3—in a report on Charles Zollicoffer, a member of the chapter here.

The cover sheet on the Feb. 28, 1972, report said "all sources... whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable

provided for Lowe's three-page report was correct but superficial: Zollicoffer's age, marital status, his brothers' criminal records and the fact that "he was selected for 'Who's Who' among high school students."

However, even the Panthers admit that the surveillance is not as thorough as it was five or six years ago, when J. Edgar Hoover called the Panthers "the most dangerous organization in the United States." And Panther rhetoric has cooled since December, 1969, when Little wrote an article for the Black Panther newspaper in which he referred to the late FBI director as "J. Edgar Hog."

This was shortly after the beginning of the COINTELPRO—short for counterintelligence program—which the FBI directed against black organizations between 1967 and 1971. The memo which established the black COINTELPRO—made public last March by Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe—listed as its goals "to expose, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings." Another declassified FBI memo, issued May 11, 1970, included a section on "a disruptive-disinformation operation" which would supply Black Panthers with confusing, fictitious information through phony police and FBI sources.

"The Bureau," concludes the memo, which was quoted in an issue of The Nation last June, "believes with careful planning this technique has excellent long-range potential to disrupt and curtail Panther activity."

Such operations were apparently often carried out by the FBI. A report on the seven different COINTELPRO programs issued last November by the Justice Department—and reported in Time magazine—said that of 2,370 acts of counterintelligence against all kinds of militant groups, "40 per cent of the total involved sending anonymous or fictitious materials to organizations with the hope of confusing their activities."

Little, the director of Panther political affairs here, charges that the 1970 memo was the basis for the series of anonymous letters circulated here in 1970-71. He says that another series of letters that circulated about the same time was forged.

One such letter, postmarked in Memphis, Cal., apparently Xeroxed from a piece of stationery with a Panther letterhead, said that Little "is hereby found to be a coward, a liar, and worst of all, a thief of the

Black Panther Party feels that disbandment of the N.C.C.P. (National Committee to Combat Fascism—its name the chapter here was going by then.) can only be in order."

The letter, a copy of which is in Panther files here, was signed by several Panther officials, but, Little says, the names typed below their signatures were obviously typed on a different typewriter from the section on Little.

Another letter, mailed in Winston-Salem Jan. 29, 1971, and quoted in the Journal and Sentinel Feb. 14, 1971, urged anyone interested in helping blacks not to donate "to the Black Panther Party since they are using your money and goods for their own benefit and not that of the black community." The unsigned letter also referred to the Panthers as "avaricious individuals" preying on the community.

According to the Associated Press, COINTELPRO was discontinued in April, 1971. Little says that's about the time the letters stopped, although there's no concrete way to determine if the two are related. "I suspect," who has been assigned to North Carolina for only a few months, says he typed about COINTELPRO in the newspapers, but says he has no information on any specifics of the program in North Carolina.

If the government is less concerned about the Panthers than it once was, it still apparently regards any associates of the party as possible security risks. A white man whose company does government defense work said in a recent interview that he was questioned by "federal agents" about the Panthers last fall when he was being considered for a higher security clearance. After answering a series of questions about a relative's relationship with the Panthers, the man said, he was eventually granted the new clearance.

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Panthers here say their new constitution prohibits them from breaking the law, that the FBI knows this but continues its surveillance to undercut the popularity they have built through their year-old anti-war service.

Giovannelli disagrees. "We think deeds speak louder than words," he says. "Depending on any action or statements they make, our attitude could change. But let me now I'll stand on my statement:

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The FBI has at least a rudimentary informant network (a confidential FBI file which was recently made available to the Journal, February 1, 1975, an agent in the Winston-Salem office, cited three informants — Kenneth Wiley as C-1, C-2, C-3 and C-4 — in a report on Charles Zollicoffer, a member of the chapter here.

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Giovanetti disagrees. "We think deeds speak louder than words," he says. "Depending on any actions or statements they make, our attitude could change. But for now I'll stand on my statement: (the Panthers) are a threat to the community."

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
Winston-Salem, N. C.
February 14, 1975
ENCLOSURE

MAR 6 1976

105-765206-8 744

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

DATE: 2/25/75

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
11 - BPP

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 10/25/74;
Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 1/8/75; and Charlotte
report of SA [REDACTED] dated 2/4/75, entitled
[REDACTED]

For information of the Bureau, referenced
Charlotte airtel on 1/8/75 advised that the Free Ambulance
Program at Winston-Salem, N. C., was continuing and the
Black Panther Party at Winston-Salem was not making any
further plans to dismantle BPP headquarters and move to
Oakland, California. Referenced Charlotte report [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] contained information regarding LITTLE's travel
and advised LITTLE is presently in Winston-Salem, N. C.,
where he anticipates continuing to assist the BPP's sponsored
Free Ambulance Program.

To date, no additional information has been
received from logical sources regarding any renewed plans
to dismantle BPP Headquarters or BPP members traveling to
Oakland, California. It appears that previous discussions
regarding the Winston-Salem Chapter's move were short lived,
and no dissemination of these discussions is being made.

Charlotte is continuing to follow this matter;
and should an actual move by BPP members or BPP Headquarters
begin, the Bureau and appropriate offices will be advised
and LHM for dissemination will be prepared.

- 1 - 4063.
2 - Bureau
1 - San Francisco (Info) (157-1204)
2 - Charlotte

CTL:rep
(5)

REC 44

105-165706-8-743

FEB 28 1975



MAK 07 1975

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

AIRTEL

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

1/27/75

From: Director, FBI (105-165706) - **8-742** - Charlotte Field Guidance

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
EM

ReCEnitel 1/21/75.

Referenced nitel not suitable for dissemination for the following reasons:

Confidential source incorrectly evaluated as "a source in position to know" and source's identity was not furnished in the Administrative Section. Manual of Rules and Regulations, Section 4, page 20, provides instructions regarding the proper terminology to be used in evaluating informants.

Black Panther Party and Larry Little, mentioned therein, were not characterized.

Additionally, the character "EM" was not set forth in title.

Promptly resubmit information contained in referenced nitel in LHM form. Score error of form against responsible supervisory and Agent personnel.

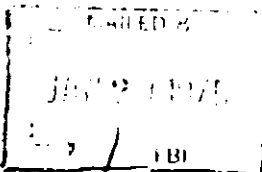
1 - New York
1 - San Francisco

JPG:ekw/med
(8)

NOTE:

Referenced nitel not being corrected and disseminated at FBIHQ since the Charlotte source is not known and, therefore, no statement can be made as to reliability.

Assoc. Dir.
Dep. AD Adm.
Dep. AD Inv.
Asst. Dir.:
Admin.
Comp. Syst.
Ext. Affairs
Files & Com.
Gen. Inv.
Ident.
Inspection
Intell.
Laboratory
Plan. & Eval.
Spec. Inv.
Training
Legal Coun.
Telephone Rm.
Director's Sec'y



TELETYPE UNIT []

51 FEB 10 1975

SFP
WF

JAN 21 1975

TELETYPE

NR 015 CE CODED

9:05 PM NITEL JANUARY 1 21, 1975 PEB

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (MAIL)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)

FROM: CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

Log of ...
Telephone Rm. ...
Director's Sec'y ...

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION.

ON JANUARY 21, 1975, CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO IS IN POSITION TO KNOW ADVISED THE NATIONAL EPISCOPAL CHURCH (NEC), HEADQUARTERS NEW YORK CITY, HAS TENTATIVELY APPROVED A GRANT TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), WINSTON-SALEM, NC, FOR USE IN CONTINUATION OF BPP SPONSORED FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM. NEC PREVIOUSLY GAVE BPP IN WINSTON-SALEM \$35,700 FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF FREE AMBULANCE SERVICE AND UNCONFIRMED REPORT SETS PRESENT REQUEST BY BPP AT \$42,000; HOWEVER, APPROVED FIGURE LESS THAN STATED AMOUNT (EXACT FIGURE NOT KNOWN AT THIS TIME).

RECOMMENDATION FROM BISHOP OF NORTH CAROLINA DIOCESE REQUIRED BY FEBRUARY 15, 1975, FOR FINAL APPROVAL OF GRANT AFTER RECEIPT OF COMMITTEE SURVEY OF PRESENT AMBULANCE SERVICE OPERATIONS IN WINSTON-SALEM. ADDITIONALLY, AN INVESTIGATOR FROM NEC IS PRESENTLY IN WINSTON-SALEM FOR EVALUATION OF AMBULANCE PROGRAM. NEC INVESTIGATOR EARL ALBERT NEIL APPEARS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH BPP, PARTICULARLY LARRY LITTLE, AND

REC-53

105-165706-8-742

JAN 22 1975

PAGE TWO.

CE 157-6171

ANNOUNCED SUPPORT FOR BPP ON JANUARY 20, 1975, AT PUBLIC NEWS
CONFERENCE IN WINSTON-SALEM PRIOR TO CONDUCTING INVESTIGATION
OR MEETING WITH LOCAL CHURCH OFFICIALS. NEIL, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ALLEGEDLY WAS RECTOR AT ST. AUGUSTINE'S EPISCOPAL
CHURCH, 2624 WEST STREET, OAKLAND, CALIF., FROM 1967 THROUGH,
1974.

AIRMAIL COPIES BEING FURNISHED BUREAU AND NEW YORK.

END. X

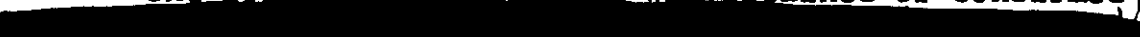
JAC FBIHQ CLR

F B I

Date: 1/8/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
 FROM: *G/k* SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: *H* BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 QUARTERLY SUMMARY
 EM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 10/4/74. *U*PART IThe following information was obtained or confirmed
by Organization and StatusThe Black Panther Party (BPP), Winston-Salem, N. C.,
Headquarters is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue. *U*Membership *109*

REC-35

Assigned 9
 In Jail 2
 Temporarily Assigned Elsewhere . . 2
 Total Active in Charlotte
 Division 5 *U*

Community Workers

5 (estimated)

JAN 10 1975

2 - Bureau
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861)
 2 - Charlotte

ZTL:rep
 (6)

FIVE

Approved: *54 J*
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

LeadershipNELSON LEE MALLOY, JR.
Field LieutenantLARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Director of Public RelationsCHARLES ZOLLIFFER
Director of the Free Ambulance ProgramMARIE MOORE
Treasurer and Second in CommandBEATRICE FULTON
SecretaryBPP Pads1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina1106-D East 19th Street
Winston-Salem, North CarolinaCommunity ActivitiesA. Free Clothing Program

Not operational

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not operational

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program

Not operational

- 2 -

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

D. George Jackson Liberation School

Not operational

E. Free Ambulance Program

Limited operation

Arrests and Convictions

Two of three members of the BPP at High Point, N. C., known as "The High Point Three," and serving jail terms in the State of North Carolina, from 7 - 10 years resulting from their convictions on charges of being armed with a deadly weapon, continue to remain in jail after parole requests were refused. LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three," was paroled from the North Carolina Department of Correction, effective 3/6/74.

Finances

Funding for the BPP at Winston-Salem, N. C., is dependent solely upon donations from the community and the sale of the BPP newspaper. During the period October, November, and December, 1974, few newspapers were sold, and donations continued to drop resulting in continued difficulty in maintaining the BPP's Free Ambulance Program. A Free Ambulance Program fund drive was begun by the BPP in October, 1974, and was a complete failure, which resulted in LARRY LITTLE, leader of the BPP, resigning his post and leaving the Winston-Salem, N. C., area in search of funds elsewhere. Additionally, the BPP publicly threatened to dismantle operations and move to Oakland, California, and continue the struggle from National Headquarters should they not receive sufficient funding in the Winston-Salem area; however, the fund drive was unsuccessful and the BPP members did not follow through with plans to leave Winston-Salem. On 10/24/74, an impromptu news conference was held by interested

- 3 -

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

citizens in the black community in an effort to gain support for the Free Ambulance Program; and, additionally, contacts were made with the Winston-Salem Aldermen. However, to date, no real success has been forthcoming.

In direct contrast, a black alderman in Winston-Salem who through actions and word of mouth demonstrated sympathy for the BPP's position was voted out of his position as Mayor Protem, and the BPP attributed his loss of position in the City Council to his support for the BPP and attempts at obtaining funds for them.

During this same period, LARRY LITTLE traveled to the Newark, New Jersey, area in efforts to obtain funding for the Ambulance Program and returned with limited funds allegedly obtained from black movie stars, exact names unknown.

At the present time, the Ambulance Program is observed to be in operation for only an hour or two daily; and complete termination of the program is expected.

PART II

The following is a summary of the BPP activities in the Charlotte Division for the months of October, November, and December, 1974:

The BPP, Winston-Salem, N. C., continues to maintain headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue in Winston-Salem; and Panther members continue to reside at 1106-D East 19th Street in Winston-Salem regarded as a BPP pad.

During this period, an additional BPP member, JULIUS CORNELL, returned from the West Coast disenchanted with the national BPP movement and failed to again become active in the BPP at Winston-Salem, N. C., further adding to the disenchantment of members in Winston-Salem. HAZEL MACK, who also returned from

- 4 -

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

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(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

National Headquarters of the BPP after she was expelled as the result of an incident with HUEY NEWTON, has also failed to give any support to the BPP movement locally. During this period, GRADY FULLER, aka "Papa Doc," one of the first members of the BPP in Winston-Salem, N. C., has also removed himself from membership in the BPP locally stating he was tired of fighting and not getting anywhere.

Discussions at BPP Headquarters have changed from that of moving local operations to the West Coast but rather to that of maintaining independence of the national movement and continuing the Ambulance Program in Winston-Salem; however, membership continues to dwindle, and the prospects of maintaining any organization or support appear doubtful.

LARRY LITTLE, who resigned his leadership position within the BPP during this period, now uses the positive aspects of the BPP, that being the Free Ambulance Program, as a public forum and has attempted to obtain community support for himself independently of the Panther movement which gives rise to speculation that LARRY LITTLE has not given up any hopes of obtaining political office in the Winston-Salem area in the foreseeable future. LITTLE's efforts toward a write-in campaign for the November elections of 1974 were completely fruitless and did not affect the general election or the Panther Party.)

The only activity which exists at BPP Headquarters at the present time is that of limited operation of the Free Ambulance Program.)

- 5 -

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 10/25/74

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 3)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
EM - BPPRe Charlotte telcall to San Francisco on 10/23/74,
and San Francisco telcall to Charlotte on 10/23/74.

Enclosed for San Francisco is [REDACTED]

For the information of the Bureau, on 10/23/74, at a news conference held at Black Panther Party Headquarters, 1333 North Patterson Avenue in Winston-Salem, N. C., the Black Panther Party announced through a spokesman that the present leader of the Black Panther Party in Winston-Salem, N. C., LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, had resigned and was no longer in the Winston-Salem area. The reason for LITTLE'S resignation was reportedly because of a lack of community support for the Winston-Salem branch of the Black Panther Party's free ambulance program which was initiated in January of 1974. The Black Panther Party had begun a fund drive for the free ambulance program in early October and to date the response has been completely lacking and the Black Panther Party's ability to continue the ambulance program has all but come to an end. The news conference additionally was a means for the Black Panther Party to publicly make the community aware of the free ambulance program's plight and to extend the fund drive until November 1st. After 11/1/74, should community support continue to be lacking, the Black Panther Party would dismantle its headquarters in Winston-Salem, and it and its

- 2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco (157-1204) (Enc. 1)
4 - Charlotte (2-157-6171)

ZTL/kfb (8)

Approved: [REDACTED]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per [REDACTED]

F B I

Date:

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(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

membership will thereafter move to Oakland, California. ()

Contact with logical sources familiar with Black Panther Party activities in the Winston-Salem area on 10/23/74, and 10/24/74, confirmed LARRY LITTLE'S resignation from the Black Panther Party in Winston-Salem, and they have advised LITTLE is en route to Oakland, Calif., where it is anticipated LITTLE will continue to support the Black Panther Party movement from National Headquarters. Sources also advised that the Black Panther Party does not anticipate obtaining additional sources, and that serious discussions are under way for the transfer of the party and its equipment, including several vehicles, to Oakland, Calif. ()

On 10/24/74, "impromptu" news conference was held by "interested" citizens in the Black community led by LEE FAYE MACK, publicly acclaimed advisor to the Black Panther Party, Winston-Salem, wherein MACK announced the community support for a continued free ambulance service with or without support of the Black Panther Party and called for a meeting of the Winston-Salem Aldermen for 7:30 PM, 10/24/74. It was further announced that preliminary information from Aldermen in Winston-Salem was that a meeting would be held to hear community support for a continued ambulance program. ()

LEADS:SAN FRANCISCOAT OAKLAND, CALIF.

[REDACTED], in an effort to verify LITTLE's arrival in Oakland and additionally to obtain any

2

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Special Agent in Charge

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Date:

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(Priority)

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other information regarding the transfer of Black Panther Party members in the Winston-Salem, N. C., area, to Oakland, Calif. ()

CHARLOTTEAT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will maintain contact with logical sources regarding developments concerning the Black Panther Party's transfer to Oakland, Calif., and will advise Oakland of any information received regarding any specific individual's departure [REDACTED] to Oakland for verification. Will monitor Black Panther Party activities in Winston-Salem as the Black Panther Party presently has liens against vehicles presently in its possession and the Black Panther Party ambulance is presently titled in Survival, Inc., a corporation registered with the State of North Carolina and headquartered at 1333 North Patterson Ave., Winston-Salem, N. C. ✓

Will keep Bureau advised of pertinent developments. ✓

3

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 10/4/74

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 QUARTERLY SUMMARY
 EM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 7/3/74, and Charlotte
 report of SA [REDACTED] 9/30/74.

PART I

The following information was obtained or confirmed
 by [REDACTED]

Organization and Status

The Black Panther Party (BPP), Winston-Salem, N.C.,
 Headquarters is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue.

Membership

Assigned 13
 In Jail 2
 Temporarily Assigned 4
 Elsewhere 4
 Total Active in
 Charlotte Division 7

Community Workers

10 (estimated)

(2) - Bureau
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861)
 2 - Charlotte
 ZTL:jat

(6)

Approved: 174

Special Agent in Charge

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F B I

Date:

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(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

LeadershipLARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Field LieutenantNELSON MALLOY, JR.
Director of the Free
Ambulance Program,
Second in CommandBEATRICE FULTON
SecretaryMARIE MOORE
TreasurerCHARLES ZOLLICOFFER
Publications DirectorBPP Pads1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, N.C.1106-D East 19th Street
Winston-Salem, N.C.Community ActivitiesA. Free Clothing Program

Not operational.

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not operational.

2

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

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(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program

Not operational.

D. George Jackson Liberation School

Not operational.

E. Free Ambulance Program

Full operation.

Arrests and Convictions

Two of three members of the BPP at High Point, N.C., known as "The High Point Three," and serving jail terms in the state of North Carolina, from 7 - 10 years resulting from their convictions on charges of being armed with a deadly weapon, continue to remain in jail after parole requests were refused. LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three," was paroled from the North Carolina Department of Correction, effective 3/6/74.

Finances

Since early 7/74, funding has again become difficult and the BPP's ambulance was forced to come to a complete halt during August and early September, 1974, for lack of funds and additionally the liability insurance on the ambulance was allowed to lapse because of lack of payment and from 7/26/74 until 8/29/74, the ambulance ran in the city of Winston-Salem without any liability insurance. Additionally, the BPP has not been able to purchase needed equipment for their vehicles including shock absorbers for the BPP ambulance and the ambulance was not in full operation during August and was again on the road in operation effective 9/3/74.

3

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

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(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

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During this period, the BPP requested funds from the Forsyth County Board of Commissioners in order to defray some of the costs including \$4,200 for insurance; however, no funds were offered to the BPP and none are anticipated for the future.)

LARRY LITTLE is again anticipating a political campaign in the expense of a write-in candidacy on his part for the North Ward Alderman Seat which he attempted to obtain in the Democratic primary election of 5/7/74, will in all probability completely eliminate the Free Ambulance Program as funds would not be available to maintain both programs.)

The BPP is attempting to obtain additional funding through benefit shows sponsored by well-known Black entertainers, however, to date none of these benefits have come to pass but discussions have been held regarding them and efforts to bring about such a means for financial backing are still underway.)

PART II

The following is a summary of the BPP activities in the Charlotte Division for the months of July, August, and September, 1974:)

The BPP abolished its headquarters at 2280 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, N.C., which had been established as LARRY LITTLE for Alderman Campaign Headquarters and furnished with equipment and furniture from BPP headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue in Winston-Salem. At the present time, the BPP maintains only its headquarters and a pad at 1106-D East 19th St., Winston-Salem, N.C., where BPP members reside.)

During July, August and September, 1974, the BPP's direction was toward obtaining additional funds in order to maintain the Free Ambulance Program, however, efforts to do so failed and the ambulance was not in operation during parts of August and early September, 1974, and additionally the ambulance was in operation without proper insurance and maintenance

4

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Special Agent in Charge

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Date:

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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

resulting in adverse publicity in the Winston-Salem area and a re-consideration by the Forsyth County Board of Commissioners as to the franchise of the Black Panther's Free Ambulance Program. At the present time, the ambulance is in operation and the franchise is in effect, however, LARRY LITTLE is anticipating a write-in campaign for the North Ward Alderman Seat and any funds obtained during the campaign for the Free Ambulance will be deferred to the LITTLE campaign and the ambulance is anticipated being parked in the near future.

The Forsyth County Board of Commissioners advised the BPP that should their ambulance service be halted for any reason the franchise would more than likely be revoked.

During this period the BPP has made a conscientious effort to maintain a non-violent image and no weapons have been observed at the BPP headquarters, however, it is not known whether or not any weapons are maintained at the 1106-D East 19th St. pad. Additionally, no discussions have been made regarding any plans for violence or of the stockpiling of weapons. Additionally, no discussions have been held regarding the possibility of closing BPP headquarters in Winston-Salem and its members traveling to Oakland, Calif., in view of the Panther's interest in maintaining their own identity.

During this period membership in the BPP has decreased and additionally community support for the Black Panther ambulance program and the party itself has decreased in view of tremendous demands upon the membership in running the ambulance program and additionally the adverse information furnished Winston-Salem BPP members regarding activity of the BPP on the West Coast, particularly HUEY NEWTON. HAZEL MACK, a former member of the BPP in Winston-Salem, who traveled to Oakland, Calif., to assist the Party there was physically assaulted by HUEY NEWTON and expelled from the BPP. MACK has returned to the Winston-Salem area, however, is not active in the BPP but members here are aware of her treatment on the West Coast.

5

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHARLOTTE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 9/30/74	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 3/29/74 - 9/23/74
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY stp
		CHARACTER OF CASE EM	

REFERENCE:

Charlotte report of SA [REDACTED] 4/2/74.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

A copy of this report is being disseminated locally to U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C.

Copies of FD-376 attached.

All Black Panther Party (BPP) members mentioned in this report [REDACTED]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

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- 1 - U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C. (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-1204) (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte (157-6171)

105-165706-8-738

REC-28

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations
Agency	ISS	GCS	SS	624D-600D	
Request Recd.					
Date Fwd.	OCT 18 1974				
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By	R/S				

A
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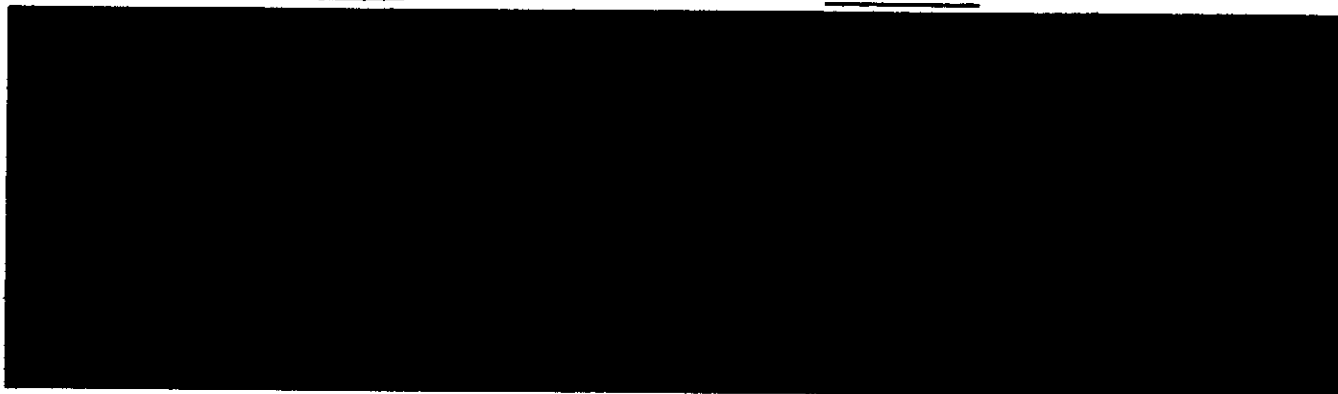
CE 157-6171

Investigation at Winston-Salem, N. C., was conducted)
by SA [REDACTED]

INFORMANTS

Identity

Location



LEADS:

CHARLOTTE

AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will continue to follow and report activities of the ()
BPP in North Carolina.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

 1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(5) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
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105-165706-8-738 page c*

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, North Carolina (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: CHARLOTTE
Date: 9/30/74

Field Office File #: CE 157-6171 Bureau File #: 105-165706-Sub 8

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character: EXTREMIST MATTERS

Synopsis: Headquarters of the North Carolina Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, N. C., and is under the leadership of LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Field Lieutenant. Information concerning pads, arrests and convictions, community activity, finances, political activity, travel of BPP members, and weapons and fortifications set out in this report.

- P -

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

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DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL DATA

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is attached as an appendix to this report.

A. Location of North Carolina Headquarters

The North Carolina Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BBP) is presently located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The Headquarters itself continues to be a two-story frame residence, painted blue with black trim, and is situated in a predominantly black residential neighborhood.



B. Officers and Membership

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Field Lieutenant

NELSON MALLOY, JR.
Second in Command;
Director of the Free Ambulance Program


MARIE MOORE
Officer of the Day;
Treasurer

BEATRICE FULTON
Secretary

CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER
Director of Publications and Distribution

Membership totals are as follows:


Assigned	13
In Jail	2
Temporarily Assigned	
Elsewhere	4
Total Active in	
Charlotte Division	7
Community Workers	10 (estimated)



C. Pads

1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

1106-D East 19th Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina



D. Finances

Funding for the BPP is dependent ~~almost~~ totally upon donations from the general public and from the sale of the BPP newspaper. The newspaper itself, which has in the past been a constant source of revenue, has dwindled considerably, and the Party membership has sold less than 500 and sometimes fewer than 300 copies of the newspaper per month.

Donations to the Party have regularly come from area churches and from individual contributions by persons who have benefited from the BPP's Free Ambulance Service. These donations vary in amounts, however, generally funds are obtained a few dollars at a time.

The newspaper, The Black Panther, sells for \$.25 a copy and half of the proceeds from the newspaper sales are forwarded to the BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California. Proceeds from donations are regularly spent on gas and oil and upkeep for the BPP's ambulance and other vehicles as well as maintaining the Headquarters itself.

In view of the shortage of funds and the almost complete turnover in funding on a monthly basis, the BPP operates on a strictly cash basis, and the cash box is maintained at the BPP Headquarters under the control of LARRY LITTLE, Leader of the BPP.

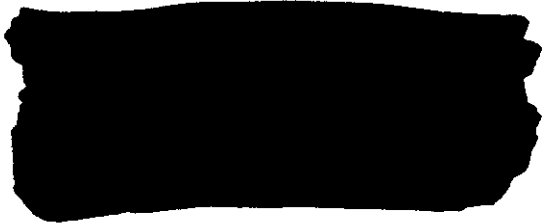
BPP members are generally unemployed and devote their full time and energies to BPP sponsored programs. However, during the past six-month period, some BPP members have taken part-time jobs on a temporary basis in an effort to bail the Party out of serious financial difficulties. At the present time no BPP members are gainfully employed.

In April and May, 1974, funds obtained through the sale of the BPP newspaper and donations were channeled into the LARRY LITTLE for Alderman campaign, resulting in the almost complete halt of the BPP's Free Ambulance Program. During May and early June, 1974, donations to the Party were good, and the Free Ambulance Program was able to operate on a full-time basis, seven days a week, 24 hours a day, and Panther members were able to pay monthly bills on time without difficulty. Since early July, 1974, funding has again become difficult and the BPP's ambulance was forced to come to a complete halt during August and early September, 1974, for lack of funds, and additionally, the liability insurance on the ambulance was allowed to lapse because of lack of payment, and from July 26, 1974, to August 29, 1974, the ambulance ran in the City of Winston-Salem without any liability insurance. Additionally, the BPP has not been able to purchase needed equipment for their vehicles, including shock absorbers for the BPP ambulance, and the ambulance was finally able to again be in full service on September 3, 1974.

During this period, the BPP requested funds from the Forsyth County Board of Commissioners in order to defray some of the costs, including \$4,200 for insurance; however, no funds were offered to the BPP and none are anticipated for the future.

LARRY LITTLE is again anticipating a political campaign and the expense of a write-in candidacy on his part for the North Ward Alderman Seat which he attempted to obtain in the Democratic Primary Election of May 7, 1974, would in all probability completely eliminate the Free Ambulance Program as funds would not be available to maintain both programs.

The BPP is attempting to obtain additional funding through benefit shows sponsored by well-known black entertainers; however, to date, none of these benefits have come to pass though discussions have been held regarding them and efforts to bring about such a means for financial backing are still underway.



II. BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) ACTIVITIES

A. Arrests and Convictions

1. "The High Point Three"

BRADFORD LILLEY and RANDOLPH JENNINGS, two of three members of the BPP identified as "The High Point Three," continue to be incarcerated in the North Carolina Department of Correction (NCDC), and serving seven-to-ten-year sentences as a result of their convictions for assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill on February 4, 1972, in High Point, North Carolina.

LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three," was paroled on March 4, 1974, and is no longer serving an active sentence and is no longer associated with the BPP.

[REDACTED]

2. LARRY LITTLE

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE was scheduled to be tried in the Forsyth County Superior Court in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, during the October, 1973, term on a charge of carrying a concealed weapon. This charge stemmed from a January, 1971, incident when LITTLE was observed by Forsyth County Deputy Sheriffs at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to be carrying a .38 caliber pistol. The trial was postponed indefinitely as LITTLE's attorney had other cases pending in Federal Court. To date, the LITTLE matter has not gone to trial.

[REDACTED]

B. Community Activities

1. Free Programs

Free Clothing Program is not operational.

Free Pest Control Program is not operational.

Free Breakfast for Children Program is not operational.

George Jackson Liberation School is not operational.

Free Ambulance Program is presently operational.

CE T-2, September 20, 1974

2. JOSEPH WADDELL's Peoples' Free Ambulance Service

The BPP at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, successfully established a Peoples' Free Ambulance Service in the Winston-Salem area in January, 1974, and in April, 1974, the Ambulance Program was competing with the LARRY LITTLE for Alderman Campaign being waged for LARRY LITTLE in his effort to obtain an Alderman Seat nomination in the Democratic Primary on May 7, 1974. As a result of BPP interest in the LITTLE campaign, the Peoples' Free Ambulance Service was all but completely closed out during the pre-primary period. All funds received from the sale of the BPP newspaper as well as donations for the Ambulance Program were diverted to the LARRY LITTLE campaign, and the emergency vehicle itself was taken off the highway.

The ambulance itself, in theory, operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and is dispatched through the Forsyth County Central Dispatch Office which also controls the County-operated ambulance service. The BPP ambulance charges no fee but will accept a donation from anyone that it picks up and operates primarily in the black sections of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

The Ambulance Program is directed by NELSON MALLOY, JR., Second in Command at BPP Headquarters, who supervises all of the ambulance's work and is manned by a driver and a technician. Panther membership increased during the summer months as additional individuals were retained by the BPP to assist in the driving of the ambulance, and this included some individuals who were normally employed as taxicab drivers. In view of the long hours involved and the lack of manpower for relief operations, the ambulance driver's position and that of technician became real chores, and individuals, who were previously connected with the program, began to drop out, and NELSON MALLOY has found himself taking as many as two shifts a day in order to maintain the program. Additionally LARRY LITTLE, Leader of the BPP, has also found himself directly assisting in the implementation of the Ambulance Program and the sale of BPP newspapers in order to keep the ambulance on the road.

In July, 1974, the BPP obtained uniforms for the ambulance attendants, which were white in color with red, green, and black trim. The initial plan was to uniform all BPP members, however, the proposition has proven to be expensive and only three BPP members presently have uniforms for use on the ambulance.

CE 157-6171

Additionally, the ambulance was to be housed in the four-stall garage facility to be built behind BPP Headquarters; however, to date, lack of funds and Party membership has not allowed this program to go forward and no garage facility has been started.

During late July through late August, 1974, the ambulance ran without funds, and for a period of two weeks in August and September, 1974, the ambulance was parked due to lack of funds and lack of personnel to operate it.

Community support for the Ambulance Program has dwindled in the recent past, and Party members are beginning to doubt whether or not the Ambulance Program might be continued.

[REDACTED]

The North Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (NCKKKK) heard that the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was having difficulty with its drive to raise funds for an ambulance service. An article appeared in a North Carolina newspaper alleging that "The Klan" was interested in assisting the BPP in its drive. Two KKK members went to BPP Headquarters in Winston-Salem to determine what it was all about on September 15, 1974. They conversed with a BPP member at the BPP Headquarters and were advised that the local Titan of the United Klans of America, Incorporated, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (UKA), had made the offer since it was the UKA's desire to assist the BPP to keep the Ambulance Service segregated. Additionally, these two KKK members visited The Winston-Salem Evening Twin Sentinel, a local newspaper in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and were advised that the local Titan of the UKA had directed a letter to that newspaper, denying support of the BPP campaign.

[REDACTED]

Characterizations of the North Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (NCKKKK) and the United Klans of America, Incorporated, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (UKA) are attached as appendices to this report.

In the September 6, 1974, edition of The Winston-Salem Journal, a local newspaper published at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, there appeared an article on Page 6, entitled, "Board Wants Panthers to Explain Insurance Lapse." The article stated the Forsyth County Commissioners, who had originally granted a franchise for the operation of the BPP's Free Ambulance Program, had directed that a BPP spokesman appear at their regular Monday meeting to explain why a lapse in the Panther's insurance on the ambulance had come about. The article stated the BPP's ambulance was again in operation after having been stopped for approximately one month due to the lapse of their insurance in late July, and their inability to purchase shock absorbers.

The article further suggested that the Commissioners were possibly considering adding a clause to the franchise agreement which automatically terminated the franchise when the franchiser breaks one of the provisions. The article stated that the present franchise prohibits the lapse of insurance or the interruption of the continuous ambulance service.

In the September 4, 1974, issue of The Winston-Salem Journal on Page 13, there appeared an article entitled, "Panthers' Ambulance Role at Issue, Franchise Violated, County Says." The article stated that LARRY LITTLE, Leader of the BPP and a representative of the BPP Free Ambulance Service, had indicated that he was willing to talk with County Commissioners regarding the lapse in liability insurance coverage on the ambulance from July 26, 1974, to August 29, 1974, and the failure of the ambulance to provide 24-hour service, seven days a week, as it did not run from August 8, 1974, until September 3, 1974. LITTLE indicated that the ambulance was back in operation and had been fitted with new shock absorbers and that they presently had insurance with Wachovia Insurance, Incorporated, and that he did not anticipate any further problems. LITTLE further stated that he was not hiding the fact that the Panthers are having financial difficulty and urged the public to assist them.

C. Non-BPP Sponsored Community Activities

On July 4, 1974, the North Carolina Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NCAARPR) held a demonstration at Raleigh, North Carolina, in protest against the North Carolina Prison System and the fact that there are presently 45 blacks on Death Row in North Carolina.

CE 157-6171

Among those speaking at the demonstration and rally on July 4, 1974, was LARRY LITTLE, Leader of the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. LITTLE spoke for the BPP and encouraged individuals there to go home and do something about the political repression in North Carolina and to win support for their black brothers and sisters in prison. LITTLE also noted that JOSEPH WADDELL, for whom they named their BPP Free Ambulance Service, was a political prisoner in North Carolina and that he was assassinated by prison officials, however, the fact was covered up as WADDELL had reportedly died of a heart attack.

CE T-4, July 10, 1974

A characterization of the North Carolina Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NCAARPR) is attached () as an appendix to this report.

D. BPP Political Activity

The Health Spa located on Robinhood Road in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was allowing BPP members to assist at the Health Spa in order to raise money for LARRY LITTLE's campaign for Alderman in the North Ward Section of Winston-Salem. Female BPP members are handling miscellaneous assignments for \$20 each and receive an additional \$20 each for every new member recruited to the Health Spa by the BPP.

[REDACTED]

LARRY LITTLE, a candidate for Alderman in the City of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, requested and received permission for the use of loud speaker equipment on the BPP's Econoline Ford Van for use during LITTLE's campaign.

[REDACTED] Winston-Salem,
North Carolina, Police
Department, April 24, 1974

LITTLE is utilizing a special Post Office box for mailing and receiving campaign paraphernalia. LITTLE's mailing address is Community Committee to Elect Larry Little, Post

CE 157-6171

Office Box 28, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Office furniture, formerly designated for use at BPP Headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, has been moved to LITTLE's campaign headquarters located at 2280 North Patterson Avenue for use during LITTLE's campaign.

LITTLE anticipates winning the election, but if he does not win, LITTLE stated he will charge voting irregularities and demand a new election.

[REDACTED]

LARRY LITTLE plans a campaign parade through the North Ward Section of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, on May 6, 1974, the day before the election. Every member of the BPP is presently assigned to LITTLE's campaign and the anticipation is that LITTLE will win the election.

[REDACTED]

LARRY LITTLE lost the election 646 to 566; however, LITTLE is planning to challenge the election.

CE T-1, May 8, 1974

The State Board of Elections admitted the vote total was not reported correctly and LITTLE lost by only eight votes, 646 to 638, and that LITTLE possibly might have won the election. LITTLE felt assured of a new election.

CE T-1, May 31, 1974

LITTLE has no intention of leaving Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in order to go to Oakland, California, in view of the election results in the North Ward Section of Winston-Salem. LITTLE expects a new election and is sure he will win as he has received a great deal of sympathy over the election results.

[REDACTED]

In the May 9, 1974, edition of The Winston-Salem Journal, a daily newspaper published at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, there appeared on Page 7 an article entitled,

"Little To Complain About Vote Officials." The article stated that LARRY LITTLE, who had been defeated in the Democratic Primary race for Alderman in Winston-Salem's North Ward Section by a vote total of 646 to 566, was filing a written complaint with the County Board of Elections. LITTLE claimed he would have won the election if it had not been for several irregularities set out by LITTLE, including conduct by voting officials in two precincts, politicking by opposing supporters inside the polling place, and the inability of LITTLE's supporters to register properly with the Chairman of the Board of Elections. ()


In the May 10, 1974, edition of The Winston-Salem Journal there appeared on Page 1 an article entitled, "Little Challenges North Ward Results," written by Staff Reporter TOM DILLON. The article stated that LITTLE had made an official complaint to the Forsyth County Board of Elections on May 9, 1974, demanding a new election, stating there were several irregularities in the election, including fraudulent votes, illegal campaign tactics, and illegal actions by some precinct officials. ()

In the June 3, 1974, edition of The Winston-Salem Journal there was on Page 10, the Editorial Page, a comment by the editorial staff of The Winston-Salem Journal entitled, "In the System. The editorial recognizes LITTLE as the Leader of the BPP in Winston-Salem and noted that LITTLE had returned to Winston-Salem from Oakland, California, which is the BPP National Headquarters, and announced a change in Party course. This new course, according to the editorial, was a new direction toward organizing the poor and seeking the group's ends by working within the system. The editorial noted that LITTLE had encountered a series of frustrations from within the system, including the fact that the registration of over 400 voters that pro-LITTLE workers had enrolled in the North Ward Section had been challenged and that 291 names registered by LITTLE's supporters were removed from the registration books and when these would-be voters appeared in person to register at the Board's offices, election officials were not present to register them. Additionally, the editorial noted that LITTLE had been advised he lost the election by 80 votes and challenged the vote total based on irregularities to the Forsyth County Board of Elections and after an unfavorable hearing there, appealed to the State Board of Elections on May 10, 1974. LITTLE has subsequently learned that he did not lose by 80 votes but a mere eight votes and that the Election Board Chairman was aware of the correct total but did not announce this fact. ()

The editorial stated that the State Elections Board is still considering LITTLE's charges, and they hope that the State Board of Elections gives this matter the careful scrutiny that a heavily-disputed eight-vote margin seems to require.

In the June 14, 1974, issue of The Winston-Salem Journal on Page 1 there appears an article entitled, "Little's Bid for New Vote Is Denied by State Board." The article reported that LARRY LITTLE, Head of the BPP, was denied his request for a new election in the Democratic Primary for the Winston-Salem North Ward Alderman's Seat. The State Board of Elections has denied LITTLE's request in a vote four to zero with one abstention. The State Board indicated that there were lots of allegations, but no evidence of any voting irregularities. LITTLE reportedly stated, "We denounce the decision resolutely, thoroughly, wholly, and completely," after hearing the results, and indicated that he would consult with his lawyers to pursue "whatever action is available" to continue the protest.

LARRY LITTLE is, in all probability, going to initiate a write-in campaign for the November elections in an effort to obtain the North Ward Alderman Seat, and is not considering any other legal action in an effort to disavow the previous primary vote.



E. Travel by BPP Members


JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, BPP Chapter, is presently in the Oakland, California, area after having visited in the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, area in July and August, 1974. No time has been set for any indicated return of CORNELL to the Winston-Salem area, and it was suspected that CORNELL departed the Winston-Salem area after having quarrels with LARRY LITTLE, present Leader of the BPP, concerning operations in Winston-Salem.

HAZEL MAE MACK, who had been in Oakland, California, was expelled from the BPP by HUEY NEWTON after having been physically assaulted by NEWTON in the Oakland, California, area and is presently residing in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and has no contact with the BPP.

CE 157-6171


HAZEL HENDERSON, BERNARD PATTERSON, and WILLIAM McCLAIN, also Winston-Salem, North Carolina, BPP members, continue to remain in Oakland, California, and it is not anticipated that they will return. However, their names continue to remain on the BPP membership list at Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

All BPP members are expected to sell copies of the BPP newspaper, collect donations for the Free Ambulance Program, and to travel to major cities in North Carolina to support various BPP programs.



F. Weapons and Fortifications

In view of the BPP effort to create a new image in the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, area in connection with the BPP's Free Ambulance Program, no weapons are presently maintained at BPP Headquarters, 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. However, it is not known whether or not any weapons are maintained at the BPP pad at 1106-D East 19th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. No fortification, protective device or material capable of being utilized to manufacture explosive items or incendiary devices has been detected at BPP Headquarters and there is no information indicating that the BPP has access to a stockpile of weapons.



BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FORMERLY KNOWN AS, THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution.

While openly advocating direct overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence until 1971, leaders have since avoided extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order. Newton, in an interview appearing in the May, 1973, issue of "Playboy" magazine, stated the Panthers' chief ambition is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence.

BPP national headquarters, aka Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, as of May, 1974, continued to be located in Oakland, California, with branches throughout the country.

NORTH CAROLINA KNIGHTS OF
THE KU KLUX KLAN (NCKKKK)

On January 13, 1971, a source advised that the North Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was organized during the months of August and September of 1969 by dissident members of the United Klans of America, Incorporated, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (UKA). Its aims and purposes include the promotion of Americanism, white supremacy, and segregation of the races.

On March 29, 1974, a second source advised that the State Headquarters for the North Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (NCKKKK) is located in Mount Holly, North Carolina.

UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA, INC. (UKA),
KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

The United Klans of America, Inc. (UKA), Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was chartered in 1961 at Atlanta, Georgia. It was formed as a result of splits in and consolidation of other Klan groups. In July, 1961, the United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Incorporated, merged with the Alabama Knights, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The merged organization was headed by Robert Shelton. In October of 1961, a majority of the Klaverns of the United States Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, were merged with the UKA and Robert Shelton continued as the leader.

The UKA is the dominant Klan group in the United States with headquarters located at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and members in several states. Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, continues to be the Imperial Wizard of the organization. The stated aims and purposes of the UKA are the promotion of Americanism, white supremacy, and segregation of the races. Like other Klan organizations it is anti-Negro, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic.

Klan members and leaders have been involved in atrocities including beatings, bombings, and murders, and have engaged in activities seeking to deny others their constitutional rights.

UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED
KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN (NORTH CAROLINA) (UKA)

On August 17, 1964, a source advised that the North Carolina organization of the United Klans of America, Incorporated, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (UKA), became affiliated with the national organization of the same group in the spring of 1961.

The organization in North Carolina has the same stated aims and objectives as the parent group, namely, the advocacy of segregation of the races and white supremacy.

This source advised on February 17, 1974, that EDWARD JAMES MELVIN, JR., was elected Grand Dragon of the UKA for North Carolina. State Headquarters is presently located on Route 1, Mount Olive Highway, Dudley, North Carolina, at the home of MELVIN.

NORTH CAROLINA ALLIANCE AGAINST RACIST
AND POLITICAL REPRESSION

On May 16, 1974, a source advised that the founding conference of the North Carolina Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NCAARPR) was held at Raleigh, North Carolina, February 15-16, 1974. The featured speaker was ANGELA DAVIS, self-admitted Communist Party member. The NCAARPR is affiliated with the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR). The aims of the NCAARPR are identical with those of NAARPR.)

NATIONAL ALLIANCE AGAINST RACIST
AND POLITICAL REPRESSION

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) is a front group of the Communist Party, USA, a subversive organization that serves as an arm of the international communist movement dominated by the Soviet Union. A source advised that it was formed under communist initiative at a founding conference in Chicago, Illinois, in May, 1973. It is targeted against the American penal system and has among its objectives the freeing of all "political prisoners." The NAARPR is headquartered in New York, New York, and has branches throughout the United States.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 9/16/74

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-9763) (C)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA
EM - BPP

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of LHM re captioned organization.

Inasmuch as the above organization was never organized nor was any other Black Nationalist group formed in Lumberton, N. C., no dissemination outside the Bureau is being made of this LHM.

All information in enclosed LHM obtained by SA [REDACTED]

Information received from two informants as set forth in LHM was repetitive and negative and it is set forth in LHM in narrative form.

INFORMANTS

Identity

Location

CE T-1 is [REDACTED]

CE T-2 is [REDACTED]

CE T-3 is [REDACTED]

2-Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)
1-Charlotte

TBI:tda
(3)

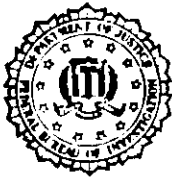


Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

EX-105

REC-1

105-165706-8-737



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

September 16, 1974

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA
EXTREMIST MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MEMORANDUM FOR SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

On [REDACTED] CE T-1 stated that on that date, RUSSELL EDWARD MC DONALD, who was formerly associated with the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was making inquiries to determine if there were any BPP activities in the Lumberton, North Carolina, area. ()

A characterization of the BPP is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

CE T-2 advised on January 11, 1974, that a meeting was held by MC DONALD in Lumberton, North Carolina, ostensibly for the purpose of organizing a BPP chapter, but CE T-2 believed that the real purpose of the meeting was to insure the [REDACTED]

CE T-1 stated on [REDACTED] that at a meeting of Negroes on the night of January 9, 1974, MC DONALD stated he tried to form an organization similar to the BPP in Winston-Salem because such an organization would give Negroes greater economic power and also enable them to obtain additional benefits from the City of Lumberton.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE
PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR
AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE
DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

SOURCES WHOSE IDENTITIES
ARE CONCEALED HEREIN HAVE
FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST EXCEPT
WHERE OTHERWISE NOTED.

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

During the period of January, 1974, through May, 1974, CE T-1 and CE T-2 advised that MC DONALD continued to make efforts toward organizing a BPP Chapter but never met with success. ()

[REDACTED] CE T-1 advised that on May 1, 1974, MC DONALD was upset because nobody in his group was accomplishing anything for his proposed organization. ()

CE T-2 advised on May 23, 1974, that MC DONALD's group is more social than anything else. ()

CE T-3 advised from the period of May 22, 1974, until July 23, 1974, there was no BPP activity beyond RUSSELL MC DONALD's talking about forming a Panther Chapter. ()

On September 6, 1974, [REDACTED] advised that to his knowledge there is no BPP activity in Lumberton, North Carolina. ()

APPENDIX

1

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA**

On February 21, 1974, a source advised that RUSSELL EDWARD MC DONALD and his wife, MARY KATHERINE MC DONALD, established an independent organization on February 20, 1974, in Lumberton, North Carolina, known as the Black Panther Party (BPP). MC DONALD and his wife are former members of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Chapter of the BPP which has its National Headquarters in Oakland, California, but this BPP organization in Lumberton has no connection with that organization, nor with any other organization.

This source stated that the purpose of this BPP is to enable Blacks to obtain greater economic leverage and more power in the Lumberton, North Carolina, area.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Formerly Known As
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, with the publicly stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics, and destiny of the black community. The current principal officers are Huey P. Newton, Leader and Servant of the People; Bobby George Seale, Chairman; and David Hilliard, Chief of Staff. The Party operates the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service (EPINS) which publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people, but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution.

David Hilliard, quoted in "The New York Times," edition of September 13, 1969, stated, "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the Government by way of force and violence."

In the April 25, 1970, edition of "The Black Panther," an article advocated the taking up of arms against the Government, killing officials, "thereby passing revolutionary judgment against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U. S. Government."

During the years 1971-1973, the Party leadership has avoided such extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order and urging unity in the black communities. In furtherance of these stated aims, the Party has become extremely active politically in the Oakland, California area, running candidates for City offices.

However, during an interview in January, 1972, Newton commented that the current social system will probably have to be destroyed in the long run, but "we can't deal with it before it is time to deal with it."

In an interview appearing in the May, 1973, edition of "Playboy" magazine, Newton said that the Panthers' "chief ambition is to change the American government by any means necessary," but said he felt that "ultimately it will be through armed violence, because the American ruling class will not give up without a bitter struggle."

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Formerly Known As
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

BPP National Headquarters, also known as BPP Intercommunal Headquarters, is located in Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP have been established at various locations throughout the country.

TO: SAC:

Albany
Albuquerque
Alexandria
Anchorage
Atlanta
Baltimore
Birmingham
Boston
Buffalo
Butte
XX Charlotte
Chicago
Cincinnati
Cleveland
Columbia
Dallas
Denver
Detroit
El Paso
Honolulu
Houston
Indianapolis
Jackson
Jacksonville
Kansas City
Knoxville
Las Vegas
Little Rock
Los Angeles
Louisville
Memphis
Miami
Milwaukee
Minneapolis
Mobile
Newark
New Haven
New Orleans
New York City
Norfolk

Oklahoma City
Omaha
Philadelphia
Phoenix
Pittsburgh
Portland
Richmond
Sacramento
St. Louis
Salt Lake City
San Antonio
San Diego
San Francisco
San Juan
Savannah
Seattle
Springfield
Tampa
Washington Field
Quantico

TO LEGAT:

Beirut
Bern
Bonn
Brasilia
Buenos Aires
Caracas
Hong Kong
London
Madrid
Manila
Mexico City
Ottawa
Paris
Rome
Singapore
Tel Aviv
Tokyo

RE:

Date 9/27/74

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA
EM - BPP**

XX For information [] Retention [] optional [] For appropriate action [] Surep, by []
The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, [] conceal all sources, [] paraphrase contents.
Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA [] dated []

Remarks:

**REURLET AND LHM 9/16/74.
THE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
UTILIZED IN THE APPENDIX ATTACHED TO RELHM
IS NOT ACCURRENT CHARACTERIZATION.
IN THE FUTURE INSURE ONLY THE MOST UP TO
DATE CHARACTERIZATIONS ARE UTILIZED.**

Enc. []
Bufile 157-165706-8
Urfile 157-9763

File

SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

August 7, 1974

Director, FBI (105-165706)

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Charlotte Field Guidance
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FBI

ReDulet to Atlanta 8/31/72.

Referenced communication contained instructions for closing investigations concerning rank-and-file Black Panther Party (BPP) members and community workers upon securing certain basic information.

FBIHQ review of pending Charlotte BPP member investigations reveals cases fitting criteria for closing investigations are being maintained in a pending status.

Charlotte review your pending BPP member investigations and advise FBIHQ under appropriate individual caption of those cases being closed in accordance with this communication.

TEB:ekwekw
(6)

EX-111

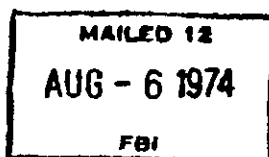
REC-18

105-165706-8-736

NOTE: The Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Black Panther Party (BPP) chapter has approximately 15-20 members, most of whom may be described as rank-and-file, occupying no leadership position. Charlotte practice appears to favor maintaining pending investigations on their rank-and-file BPP members which is contrary to existing instructions. This communication is necessary to correct the situation and free additional Agent manpower for BPP informant development. The BPP is a black extremist organization with a past history of violence. Relet noted that the reason for closing BPP cases was to permit additional time for informant development.

Assoc. Dir.
Dep. AD Adm.
Dep. AD Inv.
Asst. Dir.:
Admin.
Comp. Syst.
Ext. Affairs
Files & Com.
Gen. Inv.
Ident.
Inspection
Intell.
Laboratory
Legal Coun.
Plan. & Eval.
Spec. Inv.

JGP/ux/A



AUG 6 1974

ROOM 12 TELETYPE UNIT []

F B I

Date: 7/3/74

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB 8)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)(P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 QUARTERLY SUMMARY
 EM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 4/2/74. J

PART I

The following information was obtained or confirmed
 by [REDACTED]

Organization and Status

The Black Panther Party (BPP), Winston-Salem, N. C.,
 Headquarters is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue.

Membership

Assigned17
 In Jail 2
 Temporarily Assigned
 Elsewhere 3
 Total Active in / REC-71 105-165706-8-735
 Charlotte Division12

Community Workers

15 (estimated))

(2) - Bureau (RM)
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861)(RM)
 2 - Charlotte
 ZTL:dly
 (6)

21 JUL 9 1974

5-AUG 6 1974
 Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 495-571

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

LeadershipLARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Field LieutenantNELSON MALLOY, JR.
Director of the Free
Ambulance ProgramBEATRICE FULTON
SecretaryMARIE MOORE
TreasurerCHARLES ZOLLICOFFER
Publications DirectorLEE FAYE MACK
AdvisorBPP Pads1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, N. C.1106-D East 19th Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.2280 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, N. C.Community ActivitiesA. Free Clothing Program

Not operational.

2

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not operational.

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program

Not operational.

D. George Jackson Liberation School

Not operational.

E. Free Ambulance Program

Full operation.

Arrests and Convictions

Two of three members of the BPP at High Point, N. C., known as "The High Point Three," and serving jail terms in the State of North Carolina, from seven to ten years resulting from their convictions on charges of being armed with a deadly weapon, continue to remain in jail after parole requests were refused. LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three," was paroled from the North Carolina Department of Correction, effective 3/6/74.

Finances

The BPP continues to suffer from lack of sufficient funds to operate the Free Ambulance Program as the BPP would like it to be operated. During April and early May, 1974, the ambulance program was virtually without funds and was forced to discontinue operations as all funds received by the party were redirected to LARRY LITTLE, Leader of the BPP, for his campaign "Larry Little for Alderman" in the North Ward Section of Winston-Salem.

After the 5/7/74 primary which was contested, additional funds have regularly come into BPP Headquarters,

3

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 455-571

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

partly out of sympathy to LARRY LITTLE and also as a result of publicity for the ambulance program created by local news coverage. Presently donations are increasing and the Free Ambulance Program is in full operation, 24 hours a day, seven days a week and two additional BPP vehicles are in operation on a limited basis to assist in the ambulance program. ()

Funds are not available, however, to start construction on a four car garage facility behind the BPP Headquarters to house BPP vehicles associated with the Free Ambulance Program. ()

BPP supporters fully expect increased funds for the BPP in Winston-Salem and are continuing efforts to obtain additional grants similar to the \$35,700 obtained from the National Episcopal Church in 1973. ()

PART II

The following is a summary of the BPP activities in the Charlotte Division for the months of April, May and June, 1974: ()

During April, May and June, 1974, the thrust of the BPP activity in Winston-Salem, N. C., centered around the BPP Free Ambulance Program and LARRY LITTLE's campaign for Alderman. In the 5/7/74 Democratic Primary, LARRY LITTLE lost a contested election by eight votes. Even though the election irregularities were reviewed by the County and State Elections Board, LITTLE vowed to continue his fight for election into the North Carolina District Court or possibly initiating a write-in campaign for the November election. ()

As a result of LITTLE's BPP connections, he received a tremendous amount of news coverage from local newspapers, radio and television. LITTLE also spoke at numerous public meetings and other functions, including

4

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-571

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Democratic rallies, etc. Local support for LITTLE culminated in a favorable editorial by the Winston-Salem Journal, a local newspaper published in Winston-Salem, N. C., after LITTLE's defeat encouraging the State Board of Elections to seriously consider giving LITTLE a new election as the result of the election irregularities. As late as 6/29/74, LITTLE appeared on local television as a talk show guest.

Support for the BPP in the black community increased during April - June and presently is relatively high and sales of the BPP newspaper and donations for the Free Ambulance Program have increased considerably.

The BPP established a campaign headquarters for LITTLE at 2280 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, N. C., and furnished it with furniture from BPP Headquarters. To date, the party has yet to dismantle the campaign headquarters which was furnished to the BPP rent free. It is anticipated that the additional space will be retained for future use in campaigns or other activities by the BPP.

LARRY LITTLE had previously indicated that the local blacks of the BPP might adhere to Oakland, Calif., demands to close up and move to California if he should lose the 5/7/74 primary election, however, this course of action is totally rejected in view of community acceptance of LITTLE and the ambulance program. LITTLE, however, will be traveling to Oakland, Calif., in the near future for consultations and JULIUS CORNELL, another BPP member from Winston-Salem, N. C., who has been in Oakland, Calif., since 1972 returned to Winston-Salem on 6/30/74 to assist in operation of the Winston-Salem Branch while LITTLE is in Oakland, Calif.

5

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

July 30, 1974

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA
(Bureau File: 157-
(Charlotte File: 157-9763)

CHARACTERIZATION OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION

On February 21, 1974, a source advised that RUSSELL EDWARD McDONALD and his wife, MARY KATHERINE McDONALD, established an independent organization on February 20, 1974, in Lumberton, North Carolina, known as the Black Panther Party (BPP). McDONALD and his wife are former members of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina Chapter of the BPP which has its National Headquarters in Oakland, California, but this BPP organization in Lumberton has no connection with that organization, nor with any other organization.

This source stated that the purpose of this BPP is to enable Blacks to obtain greater economic leverage and more power in the Lumberton, North Carolina, area.

(When utilizing the above, a characterization of the BPP should be set forth).

(The first source is [REDACTED])

Source has furnished reliable information in the past.

NOT RECORDED

2 AUG 5 1974

FILE

APR 21 1975

F B I

Date: 4/2/74

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 QUARTERLY SUMMARY
 EM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau, 1/3/74.

PART I

The following information was obtained or confirmed
 by [REDACTED]

Organization and Status

The Black Panther Party (BPP), Winston Salem, N. C.,
 Headquarters is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue.

Membership

Assigned.....18
 In Jail.....2
 Temporarily Assigned
 Elsewhere.....5
 Total Active in
 Charlotte Division.....11

Community Workers

10 (estimated)

- ② - Bureau (RM)
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
 2 - Charlotte

ZTL:mpb
 (6)

REC-67

EX-115

6 APR 4 1974

APR 22 1974

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

LeadershipLARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Field LieutenantNELSON MALLOY, JR.
Director of the Free
Ambulance ProgramHAZEL SPENCER
Second in CommandMARIE MOORE
Officer of the DayBEATRICE FULTON
SecretaryLEE FAYE MACK
AdvisorBPP Pads1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston Salem, North Carolina1106-D East 19th Street
Winston Salem, North CarolinaCommunity ActivitiesA. Free Clothing Program

Not operational

-2-

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not operational

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program

Not operational

D. George Jackson Liberation School

Not operational

E. Free Ambulance Program

Limited operation

Arrests and Convictions

Two of three members of the BPP at High Point, N. C., known as "The High Point Three," and serving jail terms in the State of North Carolina, from 7 to 10 years resulting from their convictions on charges of being armed with a deadly weapon, continue to remain in jail after parole requests were refused. LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three," was paroled from the North Carolina Department of Correction, effective 3/6/74.

Finances

The BPP continued to experience great difficulty during January and February and March, 1974. Increased expenses as a result of the implementation of the BPP Free Ambulance Program on 1/25/74, completely drained all BPP funds and the Party was forced to "park" the ambulance except in extreme emergencies.

-3-

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Additionally, LARRY LITTLE, by becoming a candidate for public office, placed additional demands upon the party which it could not meet.

Donations continued to be received at BPP Headquarters, however, these donations and the sale of The Black Panther, the BPP newspaper, continued to reflect a lack of support for the BPP.

PART II

The following is a summary of the BPP activities in the Charlotte Division for the months of January, February, and March, 1974:

The BPP at Winston Salem, North Carolina, succeeded in the implementation of the Joseph Waddell's Peoples Free Ambulance Service on 1/25/74, and received a great deal of favorable publicity, both in newspapers and on television. The NBC Nightly News featured the ambulance service during its news program on 2/25/74, including a short film and an interview with LARRY LITTLE.

The ambulance service, however, proved to be an expensive operation and by mid-March, 1974, not enough funds were available on a continuing basis to support a 24-hour service which the BPP had promised the black community.

Additionally, LARRY LITTLE announced his candidacy for the North Ward Alderman seat in Winston Salem, N. C., and directed all Panther members to assist in the campaign.

Funds previously earmarked for the ambulance service were directed to the "Larry Little for Alderman" campaign which resulted in the "parking" of the ambulance.

-4-

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Activity of the BPP during the latter part of March, 1974, and scheduled to continue through the 5/7/74, Democratic primary vote was solely for the commission of LITTLE as a Democratic candidate in the November, 1974, general election. (j)

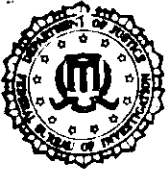
Additionally, on 3/14/74, the BPP at Winston Salem, N. C., received instructions from the BPP National Headquarters in Oakland, California, suggesting that the Winston Salem chapter should close up and move to Oakland where it might assist the Party there. Some BPP members responded favorably to the proposition, however, LARRY LITTLE deferred further discussion regarding the move until his prospects of election were clearer. It was apparent that should the Party find itself unable to continue the ambulance service and for LARRY LITTLE to lose the Alderman seat in their own Ward, the move to California would be almost assured (information regarding the possible closing of the Winston Salem chapter and subsequent move of BPP members to Oakland, California, will be furnished the Bureau and San Francisco in a form suitable for dissemination when and if more concrete additional discussions are held at BPP Headquarters in Winston Salem). (j)

Due to a lack of funds, the BPP pad at 411 East 14th Street, Winston Salem, N. C., has been closed. (j)

-5*-

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
May 16, 1974

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA
Bureau File 157-
Charlotte File 157-9763

On February 21, 1974, a source advised that RUSSELL EDWARD McDONALD and his wife, MARY KATHERINE McDONALD, established an independent organization on February 20, 1974, in Lumberton, North Carolina, known as the Black Panther Party (BPP). McDONALD and his wife are former members of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina Chapter of the BPP which has its National Headquarters in Oakland, California, but this BPP organization in Lumberton has no connection with that organization, nor with any other organization.

This source stated that the purpose of this BPP is to enable Blacks to obtain greater economic leverage and more power in the Lumberton, North Carolina, area.

A second source stated in February, 1974, that McDONALD indicated that this organization would be more militant than the BPP with which he was formerly affiliated.

(When utilizing the above, a characterization of the BPP should be set forth).

First source: [REDACTED]

Second source: [REDACTED]

157-9763
MAY 16 1974
FBI - CHARLOTTE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
May 16, 1974

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA
Bureau File 157-
Charlotte File 157-9763

On February 20, 1974, an independent organization known as the Black Panther Party (BPP), was established in Lumberton, North Carolina, by two former members of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina Chapter of the BPP which has its National Headquarters in Oakland, California. This BPP organization in Lumberton has no connection with any other organization. Its purpose is to enable Blacks to obtain greater economic leverage and more power in the Lumberton, North Carolina, area. ()

(When utilizing the above, a thumbnail sketch of BPP should be set forth). ()

1-1

~~6-6-74~~
JFK

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHARLOTTE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 4/2/74	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/15/73 - 3/29/74
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY mpb
		CHARACTER OF CASE EXTREMIST MATTERS	

REFERENCE:

Charlotte airtels to the Bureau, 1/3/74, and 4/2/74.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Copy of this report is being disseminated locally to United States Secret Service, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Copies of FD-376 attached.

All Black Panther Party members mentioned in this report are [REDACTED]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
APPROVED SK					SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE		
COPIES MADE:					DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
11 - Bureau (105-165706 SUB 8) (RM)					105-165706-8-733		
1 - U. S. Secret Service							
Charlotte, North Carolina (RM)					REC-16		
2 - San Francisco (157-1204) (RM)							
2 - Charlotte (157-6171)							
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations	
Agency	Agency: Secret Service					[REDACTED]	
Request Recd.	Dept: AAG Civil Rights Div.						
Date Fwd.	2 AAG Criminal Div.						
How Fwd.	AAG: ISG						
By	APR 12 1974						

COVER PAGE

Investigation at Winston Salem, North Carolina, was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

For the information of the Bureau, efforts by RUSSELL EDWARD MC DONALD, [REDACTED] and wife MARY MC DONALD, [REDACTED] are presently underway in Lumberton, North Carolina, to organize a black activist group, possibly aligned with the Black Panther Party. To date, however, initial organizing efforts have been limited, and no efforts have been made by the MC DONALDs to obtain assistance from the Black Panther Party in Winston Salem, North Carolina, nor have any other contacts with other Black Panther Party organizations, either through the Cleaver or Newton Factions, been made by the MC DONALDs. [REDACTED]

In view of the limited progress being made at Lumberton, North Carolina, to date as well as the lack of communication between the MC DONALDs and already established Black Panther Parties, no attempt is being made to report the activities in Lumberton, North Carolina, in this report. The Bureau will be advised of pertinent developments under separate cover and should the activity in Lumberton eventually develop into a recognized Black Panther Party unit, their activity will be appropriately reported in the next semi-annual report, which is due at the Bureau by 10/5/74. //

INFORMANTS:

Identity	Location
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

CE 157-6171

Identity

Location

[REDACTED]

LEADS:

CHARLOTTE:

AT CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

Will continue to follow and report activities of
the Black Panther Party in North Carolina.

-C-
COVER PAGE

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(2); (b)(5); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-733 pages D-E*

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE, CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office:

CHARLOTTE

Date:

APRIL 2, 1974

Field Office File #:

CE 157-6171

Bureau File #: 105-165706 SUB 8

Title:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character:

EXTREMIST MATTERS

Synopsis:

Headquarters of the North Carolina Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston Salem, North Carolina, and is under the leadership of LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Field Lieutenant. Information concerning pads, arrests and convictions, community activity, finances, travel of BPP members and weapons and fortifications set out in this report.

- P -

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- C. Pads.....4
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DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL DATA

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It formerly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government. Since early 1971 it has preached a policy of "survival pending revolution," and is seeking to organize the black community for the revolution it claims will ultimately follow.

A. Location of North Carolina Headquarters

The North Carolina Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is presently located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston Salem, North Carolina. This headquarters is located in a two-story frame house painted blue with black trim and situated in a predominantly black residential neighborhood. The house was purchased under lease-purchase agreement in the names of HAZEL LEE MACK and LEE FAYE MACK with an initial down payment of \$500 and monthly rent of \$100 per month to be applied to the purchase price of the house at the end of five years. The total purchase price for the house was \$8,500. Current lease expires in 1975. V

Source: [REDACTED]

The interior of the headquarters, after recent renovation, contains wood paneling on the inside walls and the ceiling is presently being lowered in the downstairs area, thus establishing a lobby area and also office space for LARRY LITTLE and NELSON MALLOY. Upstairs, the headquarters contains a Free Ambulance Program dispatcher's office which faces Patterson Avenue and encompasses one of the present bedrooms. Much of the old furniture and supplies at the headquarters has been dumped and new and like-new furniture is being put in its place. All of this renovation has taken a great deal of time, funds, and manpower on the part of the Panthers in an effort to insure the success of the ambulance program.

Source: [REDACTED]

B. Officers and Membership

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Field Lieutenant

HAZEL LAVERNE SPENCER
Second in Command

NELSON MALLOY, JR.
Director of the Free Ambulance Program

MARIE MOORE
Officer of the Day

BEATRICE FULTON
Secretary

LEE FAYE MACK
Advisor

Membership totals are as follows:

Assigned.....	18
In Jail.....	2
Temporarily Assigned	
Elsewhere.....	5
Total Active in	
Charlotte Division.....	11
Community Workers.....	10 (estimated)

Source: [REDACTED]

C. PADS

1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston Salem, North Carolina

The BPP previously had an additional pad located at Apartment 1, 411 East 14th Street, Winston Salem, North Carolina, however, due to increased financial demands upon the BPP, the members were forced to abandon the additional apartment.

Source: [REDACTED]

D. Finances

The BPP continues to suffer from an acute shortage of funds as a result of necessary purchases of additional first aid equipment for use in the Free Ambulance Program.

The \$35,700 grant previously received from the National Episcopal Church during July, 1973, has been spent, and the BPP has yet to build a proper garage facility to house the \$14,000 ambulance purchased in July, 1973, as well as to fully equip it and headquarters in order to meet State health requirements.

Source: [REDACTED]

The Party desperately needs \$900 for additional purchases for the Free Ambulance Program, and Panther members have been going door-to-door requesting donations and additionally have been contacting businesses in town in hopes of obtaining assistance.

Source: [REDACTED]

The BPP at Winston Salem, North Carolina, is under the leadership of LARRY LITTLE who recently [REDACTED] North Carolina, at which time [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the BPP did not desire any publicity at the present time in view of the fact that they were not able to come through with promises that they had previously made with regard to the Free Ambulance Program. LITTLE further advised that they were in hopes that promises could be met in the future, however, was not aware of when that might be.

LITTLE further stated at [REDACTED] Winston Salem, North Carolina, that the BPP is in dire need of financial assistance at the present time due to the fact that they have already disposed of, in one way or another, funds previously received from the National Episcopal Church and from several donation drives and the sale of BPP literature.

Source: CE T-4
December 19, 1973

At the present time, the BPP does not have enough funds to continue operation of the ambulance program or to support the "LARRY LITTLE For Alderman" campaign. Donations have dwindled, and the sale of BPP newspapers continues to be a source of very real concern as sales have continued to drop considerably.

BPP members are discussing the possibility of moving to Oakland, California, to assist the BPP on the West Coast as they are becoming increasingly discouraged with the situation in Winston Salem, North Carolina.

Source: [REDACTED]

Aside from the major contribution to the BPP of \$35,700 from the National Episcopal Church, the principal source of income for the North Carolina BPP Chapter has been through individual donations from concerned citizens, however, this source has all but dried up in the recent past. Additionally, the sale of the BPP newspaper, published by the BPP, has been a constant source of income; however, BPP in Winston Salem, North Carolina, has sold less than a thousand copies of the BPP newspaper each month during the last six month period, and on occasion has sold less than 500 copies per month.

The newspaper sells for 25 cents each and half of the proceeds from newspaper sales is forwarded to BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California.

The BPP operates on a cash basis and a cash box is maintained at BPP Headquarters under the control of LARRY LITTLE.

Members of the BPP are unemployed and devote their full time to their BPP activities which have been reduced during the past six months to assisting in the implementation of the BPP-sponsored JOSEPH WADDELL's Peoples' Free Ambulance Program and recently to the campaign of LARRY LITTLE for the Alderman seat representing the North Ward in Winston Salem, North Carolina.

Source: [REDACTED]

II. BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES

A. Arrests and Convictions

(1) "The High Point Three"

BRADFORD LILLEY and RANDOLPH JENKINS, two of three members of the BPP identified as "The High Point Three," continue to be incarcerated in the North Carolina Department of Correction and serving seven to ten year sentences as a result of their convictions for assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill on February 4, 1972, in High Point, North Carolina.

LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three," was paroled on March 4, 1974, and is no longer serving an active sentence.

Source:

Records Section,
North Carolina
Department of
Correction,
Raleigh, North
Carolina
March 8, 1974

(2) LARRY LITTLE

LARRY LITTLE was scheduled to be tried in the Forsyth County Superior Court in Winston Salem, North Carolina, during the October, 1973, term on a charge of Carrying a Concealed Weapon. This charge stemmed from a January, 1971, incident when LITTLE was observed by Forsyth County Deputy Sheriffs at Winston Salem, North Carolina, to be carrying a .38 caliber pistol. Trial was postponed indefinitely as LITTLE's attorney had other cases pending in Federal Court. To date, the LITTLE matter has not gone to trial.

Source: CE T-1
March 29, 1974

B. Community Activities

(1) Free Programs

Free Clothing Program is not operational.

Free Pest Control Program is not operational.

Free Breakfast for Children Program is not operational.

George Jackson Liberation School is not operational.

Free Ambulance Program is presently operational on a limited basis.

Source: CE T-2
March 22, 1974

(2) JOSEPH WADDELL's Peoples' Free
Ambulance Service

The BPP at Winston Salem, North Carolina, began in earnest during late 1973 to implement a free ambulance program after having purchased a \$14,000 new ambulance during July, 1973. Efforts to establish the free ambulance program met with resistance from Winston Salem City and Forsyth County officials as they did not want an uncontrolled emergency vehicle racing around the county and operated by a group of individuals who had, as late as January, 1971, been involved in a shoot-out with Winston Salem, North Carolina, police officers. Therefore, the obtaining of a franchise and the meeting of State health requirements had been a fundamental requirement for the successful operation of the BPP Free Ambulance Program.

During October, November, and December, 1973, the BPP in Winston Salem, North Carolina, concerned itself solely with the implementation of the Free Ambulance Program temporarily discontinuing all other projects.


Additionally, the BPP sought to establish a radio communications system and to remain in contact with the already established Forsyth County Ambulance Service at all times.

The Free Ambulance Program was not operational until January 25, 1974, despite bold predictions of an ambulance program before Christmas, 1973. Difficulty with the Federal Communications Commission and the general lack of funds delayed implementation and caused embarrassment to the BPP.

All BPP personnel have, at one time or another, assisted in the Free Ambulance Program; however, at the present time, the Free Ambulance Program does not have an effective communications network nor are there any storage facilities available nor have there been any built at headquarters, which is a requirement in the State of North Carolina, to operate an ambulance. ()

Telephonic contact continues at BPP Headquarters with black citizens requesting use of the ambulance service which is without charge, and efforts are being made on a limited and selected basis to honor the requests.

In view of the energy crisis, it became increasingly difficult to operate the Free Ambulance Program on a 24-hour, seven day a week basis, as had previously been promised to the black community by the BPP. Additionally, funds previously earmarked for the Free Ambulance Program were redirected to the "LARRY LITTLE For Alderman" campaign and resulted in the "parking" of the ambulance all but a few hours each day.

Source: 

In the October 13, 1973, edition of the North Carolina Anvil, a student publication at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, there appeared on page 1 an article entitled "Free Service - Panther Vision." The article reported that the BPP in Winston Salem, with the full support of the city fathers,

would soon begin operating a free ambulance service for poor people in Winston Salem and the surrounding Forsyth County. The article quoted Forsyth County Board of Commissioners Chairman JOHN C. KIGER as saying that "What we see now is basically a group of people concerned about ambulance service." The Panthers have been working hard to gain community support."

The article further noted that NELSON MALLOY, a 26 year old member of the BPP, was heading the free ambulance project and boasted 81 hours of emergency medical training for himself and 27 volunteers who have also received Red Cross training in first aid. MALLOY noted that 23 of the volunteers were not members of the BPP, suggesting a tremendous amount of community support.

MALLOY confessed that, "We had defected from the community. Now we're going back to it. We're returning to our original vision." MALLOY noted other BPP community projects, including rat control and free food and clothing drives for those in need, and stated that the ambulance project was on solid ground.,)

The article reported that the ambulance service would be free to everyone as opposed to a \$20 fee presently being charged by the Forsyth County Ambulance Service being operated by the County.)

In the January 30, 1974, edition of the Winston Salem Journal, a local newspaper published in Winston Salem, North Carolina, there appeared on page 14-B an article by staff reporter JOE PICHIRALLO entitled "Panther Ambulance Here Finally Begins Operating." The article stated at approximately five years ago BPP leaders first had the idea of starting their own ambulance service and that it has finally become a reality after the signing of necessary legal papers activating the ambulance franchise awarded to the Panthers by the Forsyth County Commissioners.

The article additionally noted that the Panther Ambulance technicians were in uniforms designed by other Panther members consisting of green coveralls with patches on both sleeves. One patch bore the red, black and green colors of the "black liberation" flag and the other a black panther. Across the front of the coveralls was written "The Black Panther Joseph Waddell People's Free Ambulance Service." ()

Additionally, the article noted the Panthers had anticipated beginning operation in November, 1973, but red tape had forestalled operation until January, 1974. U

LARRY LITTLE, the Panther leader, was quoted in the article as saying that the "Panthers have enough money to get through February...the party is counting on support from black churches, black civic clubs, and door-to-door solicitations. Ultimately...the Panthers would like to turn most of the responsibility for the service over to volunteers."

In the February 11, 1974, edition of The Charlotte Observer, a daily newspaper published in Charlotte, North Carolina, on page 1-C there appeared an article entitled "Service to Community Beats Confrontation, Panthers Say." The article reported the operation of a BPP-sponsored Free Ambulance Program in Winston Salem, North Carolina. The article noted that the Winston Salem branch of the BPP had done a complete turnabout in its efforts to gain support from the community as its politics of confrontation have been replaced by community action programs, ranging from the free ambulance service to collecting clothes for the needy." LARRY LITTLE, leader of the BPP, was quoted as saying, "Talking guns and 'burn baby, burn' don't put food in people's stomachs or ambulances on the road. These are some of the crucial problems our people are confronted with. Our efforts are directed toward the ills of the community and we have more support for the party than we've ever had." LITTLE noted that included in that support was a turnout of over 500 supporters last fall at the Forsyth County Commissioners' meeting when the Panthers asked for a franchise for the Free Ambulance Program and additionally LITTLE stated that the Panther Party has more than 1,500 contributors (regular) to the Party. U

LITTLE stated that the ambulance program is the type of program that they have always stood for and in the past the "militance and confrontations of the Panthers' early days, in the late sixties and early seventies, occurred because the Party was largely misunderstood."

LITTLE further indicated that when it was necessary for the Party members to carry loaded rifles and regularly drill in preparation of a confrontation, there was a feeling of isolation among Panther members but with the support they presently have change will be brought about and this is what it is all about. U

The article concluded by noting LARRY LITTLE's anger with what he feels as the lack of the city's attention toward the North Ward community which encompasses BPP Headquarters and feels that the city should impose better drug counseling and rehabilitation programs, better manpower programs for youth, and a citizen review committee to look into claims of police brutality. Of primary importance to the BPP is the Party itself will flourish. "We're determined to be a very influential force in this community," LITTLE says. , ,

On the evening of February 25, 1974, a report on the Winston Salem, North Carolina, BPP's free ambulance program with anchorman JOHN CHANCELLOR was shown on the NBC nightly news television program. The report lasted three and one-half minutes and was shown to a nationwide audience and was shown at the end of the news program as a human interest angle.

The report began with films of a shoot-out between Black Panthers and Winston Salem, North Carolina, police officers which occurred in January, 1971, and thereafter concentrated on the efforts by the Black Panthers to obtain a franchise in Winston Salem to operate their ambulance service, and thereafter the report dealt with the actual operation of the free ambulance showing BPP members assisting members of the black community. The report included a brief interview with LARRY LITTLE, leader of the BPP in Winston Salem, while he drove the BPP ambulance , , on a regular run.

The NBC television network has a Regional Office in Atlanta, Georgia, and the correspondent assigned to the Atlanta District by the name of KENLEIGH JONES on a daily basis contacts all NBC television affiliates in an effort to obtain any news of value to the nation as a whole. JONES made inquiry regarding the matter approximately four months ago, prior to the initiation of the free ambulance program, at which time he was advised that such a program was in the works and might be an interesting story in view of the fact that the BPP in the past has been noted for its violence and this is a complete reversal of past operation of the BPP in Winston Salem. The network then began efforts to film such a report and follow the progress of the ambulance program during its stages from efforts to obtain a franchise through actual operation. , ,

No real effort was made to determine any other activities of the BPP nor to come in contact with any significant number of members, other than to merely film a sequence with the Panthers putting their patient into the ambulance.

Source: CE T-6
February 26, 1974

In the February 26, 1974, edition of the Winston Salem Journal, there appeared on page 5 an article entitled "Panthers' Ambulance Featured on TV News." The article reported the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) on its nightly news television program of February 25, 1974, with anchorman JOHN CHANCELLOR had shown a news reel narrated by KENLEIGH JONES. CHANCELLOR, in introducing the program, quipped that, "the Panthers used to put people into ambulances through violence but now have started offering a free ambulance service." The report by JONES opened with films of a shoot-out between Black Panthers and the police a few years ago at Panther Headquarters. The scene ended with the police hustling two Panthers into police cars. The report did not explain what precipitated the shoot-out which was the alleged theft of a meat truck. The report went on to show Panthers negotiating with Commissioners for authorization to operate the service; showed the service in operation and included LARRY LITTLE, the Panther leader, explaining that the purpose of the service is to provide help for poor people, mostly blacks, who cannot afford to pay the fee required by the regular county ambulances.

C. Non-BPP Sponsored Community Activities

(1) Black Community Leadership Conference

In the November 20, 1973, edition of the Winston Salem Journal, there appeared on page 3 an article entitled "Economics of Blacks Examined," written by JOE PICHIRALLO, a staff reporter. The article reported that the Black Community Leadership Conference was held at Winston Salem State University on November 19, 1973, and sponsored by the Winston Salem State University Student Government, which is presently headed by BPP member CHARLES ZOLLICOFFER. ZOLLICOFFER functioned as spokesman and chairman of the meeting and spoke adamantly in opposition to present black leadership in Winston Salem's Board of Aldermen.

The article went on to state that ZOLLICOFFER defined the purpose of the conference as an opportunity to discuss community problems, develop common goals, and stimulate Winston Salem State University students to become more involved in local issues. ZOLLICOFFER estimated that between 75 and 100 persons participated in the day-long conference. The article noted several individuals who have received notoriety in the Winston Salem area among the black citizenry resulting from previous campaigns for public office and among them was speaker at the conference, Mrs. LEE FAYE MACK. The article also noted that BUFORD O. BAILEY and RODNEY SUMLER and VIRGINIA NEWELL were recognized as potential candidates for Alderman seats in Winston Salem, North Carolina, and were favorably greeted by ZOLLICOFFER.

(2) North Carolina - Virginia Commission
For Racial Justice

In the January 22, 1974, edition of the Winston Salem Journal, there appeared on page 21 an article entitled "Mother: If They Had Proved It..." which reported that a 17 year old Winston Salem youth had been sentenced to death for his conviction on a rape charge on March 20, 1974. LARRY LITTLE, leader of the BPP here, was quoted in the article as saying the representatives from the North Carolina - Virginia Commission for Racial Justice, headquartered in Raleigh, North Carolina, would be in contact with the condemned's mother and that the BPP had received several calls about the conviction and that LITTLE anticipated the BPP organizing a lobbying campaign against the death penalty. (1)

The North Carolina - Virginia Commission for Racial Justice, with headquarters in Raleigh, North Carolina, is funded by the United Church of Christ, New York, New York. The Commission has promoted marches, demonstrations and public meetings for black causes. Emphasis as of May, 1973, is on the theme "freedom for all political prisoners."

D. BPP Political Activity

LARRY LITTLE, leader of the BPP at Winston Salem, North Carolina, has recently been making numerous contacts

black groups in Winston Salem's North Ward in an effort to gain support for the BPP and himself should he run for an Alderman seat in Winston Salem's Board of Aldermen race. (U)

Source: CE T-2
February 13, 1974

LARRY LITTLE has announced his candidacy for the election to the North Ward Alderman seat in Winston Salem, North Carolina. LITTLE is running as a Democrat against an incumbent Democrat RICHARD N. DAVIS, a successful black accountant in the almost totally black North Ward. The BPP is gearing up to support his campaign, and all activity in the future will be directed toward the campaign rather than the Free Ambulance Program.

Source: CE T-3
February 26, 1974

The "LARRY LITTLE for Alderman" campaign has officially opened its headquarters in Winston Salem, North Carolina, and the BPP Free Ambulance Program would be suspended in an effort by the Panther members to concentrate solely on the campaign. LITTLE's expenses were expected to be covered from donations to the BPP.

Source: CE T-2
March 4, 1974

LITTLE announced that he had received orders from the National Headquarters of the BPP in Oakland, California, to close up Panther Headquarters and move to the West Coast in order to assist the Party in California.

LITTLE is seriously considering the possibility of leaving should there be no funds for the Free Ambulance Program and if LITTLE loses the election in the May 7, 1974, primary.

Source: [REDACTED]

E. Travel by BPP Members

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense, Winston Salem, North Carolina, BPP Chapter, continues to remain in the Oakland, California, area and no set time has been indicated for his return.

HAZEL MAE MACK, also in Oakland, California, is expected to return to Winston Salem, North Carolina, in the near future.

HAZEL HENDERSON, BERNARD PATTERSON, and WILLIAM MC CLAIN, also Winston Salem, North Carolina, BPP members, continue to remain in the Oakland, California, area and it is not anticipated that they will return; however, their names continue to remain on the BPP membership list at Winston Salem, North Carolina.

All BPP members are expected to sell copies of the BPP newspaper, collect donations for the Free Ambulance Program, and to travel to major cities in North Carolina to support various BPP programs. U

Source: [REDACTED]

F. Weapons and Fortifications

One rifle is maintained at BPP Headquarters, 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston Salem, North Carolina, on the first floor and it is unknown if any weapons are maintained at any other location at the residence. No fortification, protective device or material capable of being utilized to manufacture explosive items or incendiary devices have been detected at the headquarters building and there is no information indicating that the BPP has access to a stockpile of weapons. U

Source: [REDACTED]

There has been no discussion held nor any suggestion made that the BPP's new ambulance might in any way be used for the transportation of weapons or other contraband. U

Source: [REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 1/23/74

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
EM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Charlotte nitel to the Bureau dated 9/14/73,
entitled "BLACK PANTHER PARTY - NEWTON FACTION, EM - BPP,"
Charlotte file 157-6171.

For the information of the Bureau, referenced nitel
set out information that [REDACTED] of the Black
Panther Party (BPP), Winston-Salem, N. C., had allegedly been
present at [REDACTED] Winston-Salem, N. C.,
which is the subject's residence, at a time in the recent past
when [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was unable to furnish any additional information as
to the possible nature of the use [REDACTED] and where it
had been obtained or how it came to be in possession of [REDACTED]
if, in fact, it was.

[REDACTED]
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, U. S. Treasury
Department, sources, and FBI sources alike were unable to
verify or furnish any additional information regarding the [REDACTED]

Continuous investigation by the Winston-Salem, N. C.,
Police Department and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and
Firearms, and Agents of the FBI failed to establish any
connection, either present or past, between [REDACTED] who has no
criminal record, and Black Panther Party members at Winston-Salem
or any other extremist groups. ST 100

The following is a description of [REDACTED]

Race: [REDACTED]
Sex: [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Charlotte
ZTL:rep

(3)

000000

1974 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CE 157-9441

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In view of the above information, it is not felt
[REDACTED] fits statutory criteria for investigation in the
Charlotte Division; therefore, Charlotte is placing this
matter in a closed status.

F B I

Date: 1/3/74

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
QUARTERLY SUMMARY
EM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau 10/3/73. U

PART IThe following information was obtained or confirmed by
[REDACTED]Organization and StatusThe Black Panther Party (BPP), Winston-Salem, N. C.,
Headquarters is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue. UMembership

Assigned	18
In Jail	3
Temporarily Assigned	
Elsewhere	4
Total Active in	
Charlotte Division	11 U

Community Workers

10 (estimated) U

2-Bureau (RM)
2-San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
2-Charlotte

ZTL:jeb

(6)

ST-115

JAN 7 1974

FIVE

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

LeadershipLARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Field LieutenantNELSON MALLOY, JR.
Second in Command and Director of the
Free Ambulance ProgramLEE FAYE MACK
AdvisorMARIE MOORE
Officer of the DayBEATRICE FULTON
SecretaryBPP Pads1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, N. C.Apartment #1
411 East 14th Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.1106-D East 19th Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.Community ActivitiesA. Free Clothing Program

Not operational.

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not operational.

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program

Not operational.

D. George Jackson Liberation School

Not operational.

E. Free Ambulance Program

Projected and to be operational.

Arrests and Convictions

LARRY LITTLE was scheduled to be tried in Forsyth County Superior Court, Winston-Salem, N. C., the week of 6/25/73, on a charge of carrying a concealed weapon. This charge stemmed from a 1/71 incident when LITTLE was observed by Forsyth County Sheriff's Deputies at Winston-Salem, N. C., to be carrying a .38 caliber pistol. Trial was postponed indefinitely as LITTLE's attorney had other cases pending in Federal Court.

Three BPP members at High Point, N. C., also known as "The High Point Three", are in jail in North Carolina serving seven to ten year sentences resulting from their convictions on a charge of being armed with a deadly weapon.

Finances

The BPP at Winston-Salem has been experiencing a great deal of financial difficulty as a result of the purchase of first aid equipment for the BPP ambulance and the renovation of headquarters to a more functional area for the handling of everyday BPP business as well as the operation of the Free Ambulance Program.

Donations have again decreased as the initial interest in the ambulance program has somewhat dwindled and The Black Panther, the BPP newspaper, has not been pushed and therefore

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

sales have dwindled considerably resulting in a lack of a profit margin. ()

PART II

The following is a summary of the BPP activities in the Charlotte Division for the months of October, November and December, 1973: ()

The BPP at Winston-Salem, N. C. has concerned itself solely with the implementation of the Free Ambulance Program in Winston-Salem, temporarily discontinuing all other projects. During October, November and December, 1973, the BPP sought to establish radio communications system in contact with the already established County Ambulance Service, as well as to meet State requirements for operation of an emergency vehicle. Difficulty with the Federal Communications System and the general lack of funds have materially delayed the actual implementation of the ambulance program and caused embarrassment to the BPP in the black community as they had made earlier bold predictions of a Free Ambulance Program by Christmas. Additionally, monies received through donations and the sale of BPP newspapers have not completely satisfied expenditures made and therefore little funds, have been available for the ambulance program. ()

All other BPP operations have been suspended to insure adequate manpower for the ambulance program as BPP members were anticipating doing all of the carpentry work involving the construction of the four car garage and storage facility to be built behind BPP Headquarters required by the State of North Carolina for anyone operating an ambulance program. A lack of funds as well as cold and wet weather have delayed construction of the garage facility. ()

As a result of BPP meetings with County officials, the BPP will be permitted to respond to emergency calls in the future if requested by the caller and where the call is not being handled by the County Ambulance Service. Any decision in this matter will be made by the County Ambulance dispatcher and not by

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

BPP personnel. The potential for confrontation continues however, as the BPP has indicated that it will respond to all calls from () the black community.

The BPP has also established another "link" with the black community by occupying 1106-D East 19th Street, a residence in the black community where support for the BPP has been noticeably non-existent.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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F B I

Date: 10/3/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 QUARTERLY SUMMARY
 EM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 6/29/73.

PART I

The following information was obtained or confirmed by

Organization and Status

The Black Panther Party (BPP), Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Headquarters is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue.

Membership

Assigned 21
 In Jail 3
 Temporarily Assigned
 Elsewhere 4
 Total Active in Charlotte
 Division 14

Community Workers

10 (estimated)

- ② - Bureau (RM)
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
 2 - Charlotte

ZTL:stp
 (6)

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

NOV 16 1973

105-165706-8-729

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

LeadershipLARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Field LieutenantNELSON MALLOY, JR.
Second in Command and Director of the Free Ambulance
ProgramJULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR.
Captain of DefenseLEE FAYE MACK
AdvisorMARIE MOORE
Officer of the DayRICKIE HOOPER
Public Relations and ReporterBEATRICE FULTON
SecretaryBPP Pads1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, North CarolinaApartment (1)
411 East 14th Street
Winston-Salem, North CarolinaCommunity ActivitiesA. Free Clothing Program

Not operational.

2

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not operational.

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program

Not operational.

D. George Jackson Liberation School

Not operational.

E. Free Ambulance Program

Projected and to be operational in the near future.

Speeches

On September 9, 1973, LARRY LITTLE appeared on a local radio station and a local television station, both in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, at which time LITTLE discussed the BPP's Free Ambulance Program and called for support in the black community to stand behind the BPP.

Arrests and Convictions

LARRY LITTLE was scheduled to be tried in Forsyth County Superior Court, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the week of June 25, 1973, on a charge of carrying a concealed weapon. This charge stemmed from a January, 1971, incident when LITTLE was observed by Forsyth County Sheriff's Deputies at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to be carrying a .38 caliber pistol. Trial was postponed indefinitely as LITTLE's attorney had other cases pending in Federal Court.

Three BPP members at High Point, North Carolina, also known as "The High Point Three," are in jail in North Carolina serving seven-to-ten-year sentences resulting from their convictions on a charge of being armed with a deadly weapon.

3

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

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U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

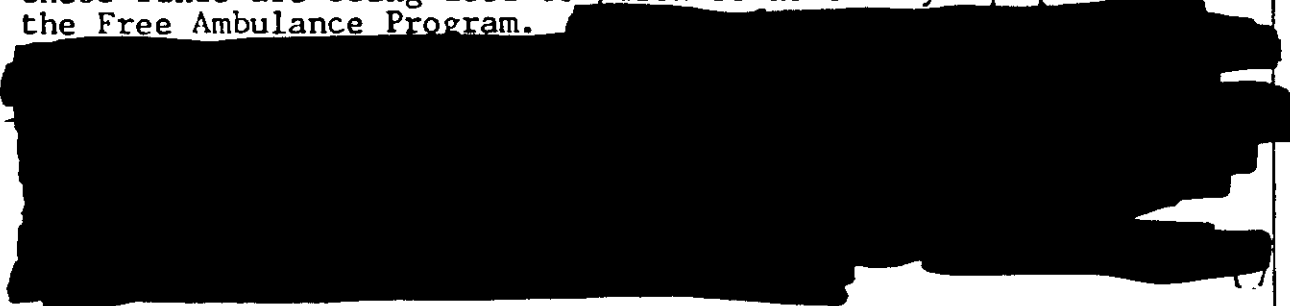
Date:

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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Finances

LARRY LITTLE stated publicly on July 9, 1973, that the BPP, in addition to the \$35,000 they received from the Episcopal Church, have also received approximately \$6,000 in donations from supporters of the BPP's Free Ambulance Program and that these funds are being used to purchase necessary equipment for the Free Ambulance Program.



BPP members have spent a limited amount of time in the sale of The Black Panther, the BPP newspaper, and have not been able to make profits from the sale of the newspaper in the recent past.

PART II

The following is a summary of the BPP activities in the Charlotte Division for the months of July, August, and September, 1973:

During late July, 1973, confrontations between police officers and black militants at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in the North Liberty Street area, erupted into violence wherein police officers received minor injuries and local businessmen suffered minor property damage. These acts of violence were directed primarily against the local police control of the black community and alleged harassment and agitation of blacks by the Police Department. Among those individuals most outspoken against the Police Department and who were regarded as

4

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Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

"troublemakers" were LEE FAYE MACK, LARRY LITTLE, and JULIUS CORNELL, all of whom are in leadership positions in the BPP. No other BPP members were known to have been instrumental in the confrontations and no information is available which would indicate that the confrontations were planned and executed by the BPP as a whole.)

As has been previously mentioned, the BPP has purchased a new and well-equipped ambulance and that it is on display at BPP Headquarters in Winston-Salem. Controversy arose in Winston-Salem over the use of the ambulance as an emergency vehicle in competition with the Forsyth County Ambulance Service, which is operated by the local government. City and county officials originally opposed all efforts by the BPP to implement the Ambulance Program, and a direct confrontation over this matter appeared certain. At a meeting of the Forsyth County Board of Commissioners on September 10, 1973, the commissioners softened their position and endorsed the "idea" of the BPP's Free Ambulance Service and requested the BPP and representatives of the Forsyth County Ambulance Service to jointly prepare a plan for presentation to the commissioners encompassing both the county and the Panther's Ambulance Service. The commissioners, however, are not expected to approve the indiscriminate use of the BPP ambulance on any emergency, and the BPP has indicated that they intend to do just that. The potential for a confrontation therefore continues to be very () real.

The BPP recently requested and received approval for the rezoning of the lot encompassing BPP Headquarters from that of residence only to that of residence and small business. In obtaining the rezoning request, the Panthers are in a position to operate the ambulance service from BPP Headquarters and construction is presently under way behind BPP Headquarters () of a four-car garage.

All activity, other than the Ambulance Program, has been suspended at BPP Headquarters as the Panthers believe the

5

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Free Ambulance Program will do a great deal more good for the Panthers' image than all the other projects combined. Additionally, BPP members and sympathizers have received or are presently receiving first-aid training and other technical skills in order to meet state regulations for the operation of an ambulance designed for public use, and every effort is being made to make the black community aware of the Panthers' new role in the community.)

6

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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F B I

Date: 9/28/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)BLACK PANTHER PARTY
NEWTON FACTION
EM - BPP

Re Charlotte airtel, 9/7/73.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and one copy of a newspaper article entitled "Winston-Salem Police Informer Confesses" which appeared on Pages 6 and 17 of the September 8, 1973, edition of The Black Panther, official newspaper of the Newton Faction of the BPP.

For the information of the Bureau, the enclosed article is being furnished as it is the conclusion of a series of articles written by a BPP staff reporter featuring WILBERT ALLEN, a former police informer who had identified SA ZACHARY T. LOWE in the BPP newspaper article submitted to the Bureau on 9/7/73. No information has been received which would indicate any additional articles are planned in this regard.

The Bureau will be advised of any additional developments should they arise.

4 - Bureau (2 - 105-165706) Enc. (RM)
(2 - 157-6)
5 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171)

ZTL:dh
(9)

ENCLOSURE

REC-54

105-165706-8-726

OCT 3 1973

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-6171-8

WINSTON-SALEM

POLICE INFORMER

CONFESSES

CONCLUSION

(Winston-Salem, N.C.) - Last week THE BLACK PANTHER printed the first part of an interview with a police informer here, Wilbert Allen. He publicly confessed his involvement before a crowd at a community meeting held to air protests over a recent attack by police on more than 300 brothers and sisters gathered on North Liberty Street in the heart of the Black community. Part I concerned Allen's assignment to spy on several community leaders, including Larry Little, coordinator of the Winston-Salem Branch of the Black Panther Party. Part II deals with the racism and brutality Allen witnessed while working for the police and his reasons for publicly exposing himself.

THE BLACK PANTHER: What events or emotions led you to make your statement last night? Why did you choose to expose yourself as an informer at that public meeting?

ALLFN: In my undercover dealings with the Winston-Salem Police Department, I found that a lot of information they received was misinterpreted through other informers. This led to a lot of harassment of individuals who the police had under surveillance and were spying on. Anything that was loose talk was taken to be fact. Information I gave was often misused through their own department.

At the time of the meeting I felt that City Hall did not have an open ear to Blacks' complaints. I felt that it was time that this thing needed to be exposed. It meant putting my life, my welfare, and my job on the line, but at that moment I just didn't care because the truth had to be told.

THE BLACK PANTHER: Do you think that the police are capable of any reprisals against you?

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

1 XEROX

OCT 15 1973

ENCLOSURE

105-105700-7-16

ALLEN: Sure they are. Just as easily as they sent Bobby Simms, who's an ABC (Alcoholic Bureau Control) officer, over here to infiltrate The Dungeon and The Stag Clubs, I'm pretty sure they can get other officers or anybody else -- informers from other cities -- and put out a contract (a payment to kill) on me because of some of the things I've seen and heard. I feel that they would try to do something bodily. I could possibly disappear or be picked up on a petty charge and taken downtown for speeding or something of that nature.

POLICE INTIMIDATION

THE BLACK PANTHER: What act of police harassment and intimidation or brutality have you seen since working with the police force?

ALLEN: I've seen people harassed, cursed, and dogged. I've seen police call people slur names such as niggers, motherfuckers, bitches, whores, prostitutes - you name it, they had a name for it. After I gave them information or did any work, even though I was escorted home by police agents, sometimes I slipped back into the Liberty Street area and observed some of these same officers who I had left 30 or 45 minutes before. Their tactics weren't very pretty. I observed them cursing; I observed them hitting pedestrians who were innocently walking through the neighborhood, with their nightsticks and clubs, sticking guns in people's faces, and knocking on cars, making people get out, sticking their guns into their ribcages.

AND WATERGATE?

THE BLACK PANTHER: What do you think of the national Watergate Conspiracy in relationship to a local undercover operation like this one?

ALLEN: I think that Watergate being exposed is beautiful. For years I've felt that this type of thing has existed in this country. For it to come to light now, exposing the racist people involved, is beautiful. I'm even happier that Black people in different states have gotten together and are helping to bring things like this to light. This thing in Washington is happening right now in different towns and cities all over the country. The fact that Watergate and other scandals are in the news media and citizens are becoming aware of them is very good. These are things which will help us get back to what they once called democracy, although I've never seen too much of that.

XXXXXX
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET9

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-725

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-
SUB 8) DATE: 10/4/73

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-2004) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
NEWTON FACTION
EM - BPP

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau dated 9/13/73, captioned as above.

The following investigation was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

The current cross reference telephone directory for Greater Wilkes-Barre, Pa., including Dallas, Pa., reflects that telephone number 717-675-1101 is listed to the Chase Correctional Institution.

Philadelphia is not aware of any former BPP members incarcerated at that institution.

SI-11

REC-36

105-165706-8-724

2 Bureau (105-165706-SUB 8) (RM)
2 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)
1 - Philadelphia (157-2004)

REL:pep
(5)



56001

19 1973
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

XXXXXX
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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6 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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4 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-722

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F B I

Date: 9/13/73

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB 8)
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
NEWTON FACTION
EM - BPP

616 922

105-165706-8-721

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-721 page 2

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F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

On [REDACTED] advised that individuals from Pennsylvania, New York, and Washington, D. C., have been traveling to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for an unknown reason, and that LARRY LITTLE, leader of the BPP in North Carolina, has made vague references to out-of-town friends who are anxious to assist the BPP in Winston-Salem. [REDACTED] was of the opinion that these "out-of-town friends" are in Winston-Salem as a result of efforts by the BPP at Winston-Salem to initiate a Free Ambulance Program for poor people in the black community. U

Additionally, [REDACTED] has previously advised that HUEY P. NEWTON will be coming to Winston-Salem, North Carolina in the near future to speak at Winston-Salem State University, a predominantly black educational institution. U

[REDACTED]
indices check, contact logical sources regarding above, and furnish Charlotte with all pertinent information. U

3

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-721 pages 4-8

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET3

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-720

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SEP 11 1973

TELETYPE

NR016 CE CODE

10:11 PM NITEL 9/11/73 MAC

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

Assoc. Dir.	✓
Asst. Dir.:	
Admin.	✓
Comp. Syst.	
Files & Com.	
Gen. Inv.	
Ident.	
Inspection	
Intell.	✓
Laboratory	
Plan. & Eval.	
Spec. Inv.	
Training	
Legal Coun.	
Cong. Serv.	
Corr. & Crm.	
Research	
Press Off.	
Telephone Rm.	
Director Sec'y	

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, NEWTON FACTION, EM-BPP.

ON 9/11/73, A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION

IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT A MEETING OF THE FORSYTH COUNTY, N.C., BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS WAS HELD IN WINSTON-SALEM AS PLANNED AND MEMBERS OF THE BPP AT WINSTON-SALEM PRESENTED A REQUEST TO COMMISSIONERS FOR THE GRANTING OF A FRANCHISE FOR THE OPERATION OF AN AMBULANCE IN FORSYTH COUNTY. LARRY LITTLE, LEADER R OF THE BPP AT WINSTON-SALEM, PRESENTED THE PROPOSAL FOR THE BPP REQUESTING THE OPERATION OF AN EMERGENCY AS WILL AS A NON-EMERGENCY VEHICLE.

ST 100

REC 99

105-165706-8-719

FORSYTH COUNTY COMMISSIONERS UNANIMOUSLY WENT TO RECORD AS FAVORING SOME KIND OF AMBULANCE SERVICE FRANCHISE TO THE BPP; HOWEVER, THE QUESTION OF WHETHER TO APPROVE THE OPERATION OF AN EMERGENCY VEHICLE FOR THE BPP WAS DEFERRED UNTIL SUCH TIME AS A PLAN COULD BE AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE BPP AND THE FORSYTH COUNTY

END PAGE ONE

AGENCY: ~~ASSISTANT SEC. SERV.~~~~DEPT 2125, AND 2125-100~~HOW FORN: 5DATE FORN: SEP 13 1973BY: 4911

42

8336

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

AMBULANCE PROGRAM WHICH HAS BEEN IN OPERATION FOR THREE YEARS. U

THE FIRST SOURCE FURTHER ADVISED THAT APPROXIMATELY 200 SUPPORTERS OF THE BPP WERE PRESENT DURING THE COMMISSIONERS' MEETING AND NO DEMONSTRATION OR VIOLENCE OF ANY KIND ERUPTED DURING OR AFTER THE COMMISSIONER'S MEETING. U

A SECOND SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST [REDACTED]

ADVISED THIS DATE THAT THE BPP AT WINSTON-SALEM IS EXTREMELY PLEASED OVER THE COMMISSIONERS' MEETING AND ANTICIPATE FULL APPROVAL OF THE BPP SPONSORED FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM. THE SECOND SOURCE FURTHER ADVISED THAT NO PLANS ARE BEING MADE AT THIS TIME TO ORGANIZE ANY DEMONSTRATION IN FURTHERANCE OF THE AMBULANCE PROGRAM AND EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE PRESENTLY TO CONTACT THE FORSYTH COUNTY AMBULANCE PROGRAM FOR THE PURPOSE OF COMING TO SOME AGREEMENT. U

USA, GREENSBORO, N.C., AND U.S. SECRET SERVICE, CHARLOTTE, N.C., ADVISED. U

END PAGE TWO.

CE 157-6171

PAGE THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE NITEL TO THE BUREAU 9/10/73. U

THE FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED] J

THE SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED] J

CHARLOTTE WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THIS MATTER THROUGH
LOGICAL INFORMANTS AND WILL ADVISE THE BUREAU AND INTERESTED
PARTIES OF ANY PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD THEY ARISE.

END.

H

F B I

Date: 8/31/73

Assoc. Dir. _____
 Asst. Dir. _____
 Admin. Serv. _____
 Comp. Serv. _____
 Ident. _____
 Inspection _____
 Intell. _____
 Laboratory _____
 Plan. & Eval. _____
 Spec. Inv. _____
 Training _____
 Legal Coun. _____
 Cong. Serv. _____
 Corr. & Crm. _____
 Research _____
 Press Off. _____
 Telephone Rm. _____
 Director Sec'y _____

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 NEWTON FACTION
 EM - BPP

Re Charlotte letter to the Bureau dated 8/20/73,
 enclosing LHM, captioned, "CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN WINSTON-SALEM,
 NORTH CAROLINA, POLICE OFFICERS AND BLACK INDIVIDUALS, RESULTING
 IN DISTURBANCES AND DISORDERS; CIVIL UNREST." ()

Enclosed for the Bureau is original and one copy of a
 newspaper article captioned, "Tension Mounts in Winston-Salem -
 Police Attack 300," which appeared on Page 7 of the 8/25/73
 edition of The Black Panther, official newspaper of the Newton
 Faction of the BPP.

Enclosed article, in addition to reporting activity
 in connection with information set forth in referenced Charlotte
 letter and LHM, makes mention of one WILBERT ALLEN, identified
 as a police informer and who had been recently working with the
 FBI to investigate several community activists and organizations
 including the local branch of the BPP.

For the information of the Bureau, WILBERT ALLEN was
 contacted on one occasion (6/8/73) by SA ZACHARY T. LOWE, who
 is assigned to the Winston-Salem Resident Agency and to whom

(4) - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
 (2 - 105-165706)
 (2 - 157-6)
 5 - Charlotte
 (2 - 157-6171)

ZTL/RLK:slp
 (9)

SEP 14 1973

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

5 SEP 20 1973

Unrec copy and copy of encl filed in

F B I


Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

BPP investigation is assigned. ALLEN was interviewed regarding BPP activities and individuals in the Winston-Salem, N. C., area with the thought that he might possibly be in a position to furnish information concerning BPP activities and information concerning civil unrest in the Winston-Salem area. During the interview with ALLEN, it was determined that ALLEN was at that time furnishing information on a continuing basis to the Winston-Salem Police Department and accordingly, no further attempts were made to develop ALLEN as a source. ()

At the 8/3/73 Public Safety Committee Hearing in Winston-Salem, ALLEN admitted to those assembled his informant status with the Winston-Salem, N. C., Police Department and made reference to a contact with SA LOWE by name and discussed nature of questions asked him by SA LOWE. In addition to above, an article appeared in the 8/3/73 edition of The Winston-Salem Journal, a local daily Winston-Salem newspaper, on Page 17, which set forth information concerning ALLEN's appearance and comments at the previously mentioned Public Safety Committee Hearing. U



2

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)
CE 157-6171

It is noted that the enclosed newspaper article sets forth that an exclusive interview with ALLEN will be carried in the next edition of the BPP newspaper and the possibility exists that SA LOWE's identity may be reflected in the forthcoming article. U

This matter is being followed with informants and sources [REDACTED] and the Bureau will be kept advised of developments. SA LOWE has been instructed to take every precaution inasmuch as the possibility exists that the BPP may decide to take reprisals against him although no information has been received to indicate that they plan to do so. Local police authorities are aware of the situation and have been alerted to keep SA LOWE advised of any pertinent developments that come to their attention. U

It is noted the enclosed article sets forth the date of the Public Safety Committee Hearing as 8/7/73 which is a typographical error and should be 8/3/73. U

3

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

TENSION MOUNTS IN WINSTON-SALEM POLICE ATTACK 300

(Winston-Salem, North Carolina) - Following a police attack on brothers and sisters gathered on North Liberty street, between the Dungeon and Golden Stag clubs, a potentially explosive situation exists here in Winston-Salem. Police have threatened to use any force necessary to prevent blocking of the sidewalk and illegal parking."

The brutality and harassment two weeks ago of over 300 young people by police, armed with machine guns and tear gas, was a "warning" of what the police have planned if young Blacks continue to congregate outside the city's two most popular night spots.

The uproar in the Black community resulting from the rash and unwarranted attack has produced a task force of community leaders and businessmen that are fighting to prevent further violence. The basic problem, the task force asserts, is that police are using minor traffic and sidewalk blocking violations to spark trouble. Their objective, according to community leaders, is to use any possible incident to close down the Dungeon and the Golden Stag clubs. Both spots are labeled by police as "trouble spots".

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

7 THE BLACK PANTHER
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Date: 8-25-73

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: CE

☒ If not indexed

COMMUNITY TASK FORCE

The actual problem on Liberty Street is that there is not enough off-street parking space for patrons of the two clubs. The task force, which includes representatives of the local branch of the Black Panther Party, has begun a campaign to inform the Black community of the situation. The group has also begun a campaign to clean off vacant lots in the vicinity that can provide parking space.

At a public hearing held August 7th by the Public Safety Committee of the city's Board of Aldermen, meeting at the request of the task force, charges were leveled at the police and other public officials before a packed audience. Specific cases of harassment and brutality by police were aired by angry citizens.

The committee voted to recommend to the Board of Alderman that the city re-examine parking regulations and street lighting along the two-block strip, establish nighttime recreation for young people and enforce regulations requiring off-street parking for businesses. It was also recommended that policemen charged with brutality be required to appear publicly before the committee if requested.

Near the conclusion of the meeting those in attendance were shocked when Wilbert Allen, a Black community activist, confessed that he had been a police informer for the past six years and had been recently assigned to in-

vestigate the Dungeon and Golden Stag Clubs. He stated that he could no longer bear the guilt and shame of this activity and revealed that he had seen blatant corruption within the local police department.



How long?

He further revealed that he had recently been working with the FBI to investigate several community activists and organizations, including the local branch of the Black Panther Party.

Next week THE BLACK PANTHER will carry an exclusive interview with this former police informer about his activities and his reasons for deciding to confess publicly of his crimes against the people.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 10 1973

TELETYPE

Assoc. Dir.	_____
Asst. Dir.:	_____
Admin.	_____
Comp. Syst.	_____
Files & Com.	_____
Gen. Inv.	_____
Ident.	_____
Inspection	_____
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Laboratory	_____
Plan. & Eval.	_____
Spec. Inv.	_____
Training	_____
Legal Coun.	_____
Cong. Serv.	_____
Corr. & Crm.	_____
Research	_____
Press Off.	_____
Telephone Rm.	_____
Director Sec'y	_____

NR 019 CE CODE

11:38 PM NITEL 9-10-73 CER

TO: DIRECTOR, (105-165706)

ATTN: INTD

FROM: CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, NEWTON FACTION, EM - BPP.

ON 9-10-73, SOURCE ONE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED EFFORTS BY BPP AT WINSTON-
SALEM, N.C., TO INITIATE FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM SPONSORED BY
BPP CONTINUING. LAST MAJOR REQUIREMENT WHICH MUST BE MET
BEFORE AMBULANCE OPERABLE IN APPROVAL OF PROGRAM BY FORSYTH
COUNTY BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS. FORSYTH COUNTY BOARD OF
COMMISSIONERS WILL DECIDE QUESTION OF AMBULANCE PROGRAM AT
SPECIAL MEETING IN WINSTON-SALEM ON EVENING OF 9-13-73, AND
RELIABLE INFORMATION INDICATES AMBULANCE PROGRAM WILL BE
RESTRICTED TO NON-EMERGENCY CAPACITY. SEVERAL POLITICAL
LEADERS, WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., OPPOSED TO BPP SPONSORED
AMBULANCE OPERATING IN EMERGENCY CAPACITY AND URGING COMMISSIONERS
TO APPROVE ONLY NON-EMERGENCY PROGRAM FOR BPP.

END PAGE ONE

54 SEP 10 1973

PAGE TWO

SOURCE ONE ADVISED INFORMATION AVAILABLE INDICATES THAT SHOULD NON-VIOLENT ORDERLY DEMONSTRATION RESULT AT FORSYTH CO. BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS' MEETING, NO EFFORTS WOULD BE MADE TO PROHIBIT CITIZENS OF BLACK COMMUNITY FROM EXPRESSING DISPLEASURE AT FINAL VOTE. ANY FURTHER ACTION BY ATTENDANTS AT MEETING WOULD BE MET WITH RESISTANCE BY THE POLICE DEPARTMENT AS THE POLICE DEPARTMENT HAS EVERY INTENTION OF MAINTAINING ORDER AND SHOULD ANY VIOLENCE ERUPT IN PUBLIC STREETS, THE POLICE DEPARTMENT WILL TAKE ANY APPROPRIATE ACTION.

ON 9-10-73, SOURCE TWO, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, [REDACTED] ADVISED BPP'S INTENTION IS TO GO AHEAD WITH EMERGENCY AMBULANCE PROGRAM WITH OR WITHOUT COMMISSIONERS' APPROVAL AS BPP DESIRES CONFRONTATION WITH LOCAL POLICE IN EFFORT TO FURTHER TEST COMMUNITY SUPPORT.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SOURCE TWO FURTHER ADVISED BPP HAS BEEN RECEIVING TREMENDOUS SUPPORT FROM BLACK COMMUNITY AND LARGE CROWD EXPECTED TO ATTEND FORSYTH CO. COMMISSIONERS' MEETING. SOURCE TWO ADVISED BPP WILL NOT RESPECT NON-EMERGENCY PROGRAM SHOULD IT BE AUTHORIZED BY COMMISSIONERS AND WILL ENCOURAGE THOSE ASSEMBLED TO EXPRESS DISPLEASURE WITH RULING SHOULD IT OCCUR. SOURCE TWO STATED PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION MAY RESULT IF UNFAVORABLE RULING TO PROGRAM RESULTS AT MEETING ON THIS DATE; HOWEVER, NO INFORMATION RECEIVED INDICATING ANY PLANNED ACTS OF VILLENC.

U.S. ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, GREENSBORO, N.C., AND U.S. SECRET SERVICE, CHARLOTTE, N.C., BEING NOTIFIED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE ONE IS [REDACTED]

SOURCE TWO IS [REDACTED]

CHARLOTTE WILL MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH LOGICAL SOURCES AT WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED OF ANY PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END.

MSI FBIHQ ACK ONE CLR

[REDACTED]

F B I

Date: 9/7/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)BLACK PANTHER PARTY
NEWTON FACTION
EM - BPP

Re Charlotte airtel dated 8/31/73.

Enclosed for the Bureau is original and one copy of a newspaper article captioned, "Winston-Salem Police Informer Confesses," which appeared on page 5 of the 9/1/73 edition of The Black Panther, official newspaper of the Newton Faction of the BPP.

For the information of the Bureau enclosed article is being furnished in order to keep the Bureau apprised of this matter as SA ZACHARY T. LOWE was identified in enclosed article. The Bureau will note another article is planned for the next edition of The Black Panther in which the FBI will again be mentioned.

This matter is being followed with informants and sources and local police officials and the Bureau will be kept advised of developments.

4 - Bureau (2 - 105-165706) (Encs. 2)
(2 - 157-6)
5 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171)

ZTL: bcb
(9)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

WINSTON-SALEM POLICE INFORMED CONFESSES

(Winston-Salem, N.C.) - Last week **THE BLACK PANTHER** printed a report on the angry response of the Winston-Salem Black community to the recent attack upon over 300 Black brothers and sisters assembled on North Liberty Street, between two local night clubs. A community meeting was held by members of the city's Board of Aldermen (city council) to hear protests from the community concerning the continuing threat of another attack on youths gathered on North Liberty Street. Police are using minor traffic and sidewalk blocking violations to spark trouble.

At the meeting, a local Black community activist, Wilbert Allen, confessed publicly, to a packed audience, that he had been a undercover police informer for the past six years and had been recently assigned to investigate Lee Faye Mack, a local Black activist, Rodney Sumler, president of the Dungeon Club on North Liberty Street, also very active politically, and Larry Little, the coordinator of the Black Panther Party Chapter here.

A reporter from the central office of **THE BLACK PANTHER** in Oakland was in Winston-Salem at the time, and obtained an exclusive interview with the admitted informer. Part I concerns Allen's involvement in local political espionage.

In next week's issue Allen tells of his dramatic decision to confess publicly and of the racism and brutality he witnessed while working for the Winston-Salem police and the FBI.



WILBERT ALLEN recently confessed that he was an FBI informer who infiltrated Black organizations in Winston-Salem.

If Rodney Sumler, Larry Little and Lee Faye Mack were putting this thing together. He wanted to connect them with the drug ring. He felt that there were close connections between Everybody is a Star, The Dungeon, and the Black Panther Party.

"DROPPING A DIME"

THE BLACK PANTHER: Does the police department use informers to lie in order to frame persons?

ALLEN: Yes, this happens often. I could have done it many times. Once an informant feels he's going to get a dollar or two for dropping a dime and informing on a fellow human being he won't hesitate to lie. They cooperate fully with the police.

THE BLACK PANTHER: Do you know of any efforts the police made to get to informers to try to infiltrate the Black Panther Party Chapter here?

THE BLACK PANTHER: At the meeting you spoke of FBI agent who is conducting surveillance on several community leaders here. What is his name, and how was his spying conducted?

ALLEN: His name was Zachery Lowe. He was an FBI agent working out of the North Carolina Main Office. He was working with the FBI on the narcotics traffic that they believe to be circulating around the Dungeon and the Golden Stag, night clubs along the Liberty Street strip. He called me several times by phone on my job and wanted to set up a surveillance team with himself and a couple of other officers. We kept in close contact by phone. One of the things he wanted to know was how Lee Faye Mack, who runs the Everybody is a Star dress shop, got base money enough to get her operation off the ground. Secondly, he wanted to know if there was any use of heroin in the Dungeon, and

ALLEN: Yes, a man named Otha McManus was paid to infiltrate the Black Panthers when they first started here. Two months ago, during the trial of Reverend Ben Chavis in Wilmington, the FBI had agents who were following Larry Little's movements from Wilmington back here to the Panther headquarters. (Reverend Ben Chavis, a Wilmington Black activist, was acquitted of false accessory to murder charges last June.)

THE BLACK PANTHER: What persons were under surveillance by the city's police?

ALLEN: I had a meeting with Captain Masters, who is captain of the detective division in this city. He wanted me to get any information I could concerning the activities of Black Panther leaders, Lee Faye Mack, Rodney Sumler and the Witherspoon brothers who own the Golden Stag Club.

TO BE CONTINUED

111
XEROX

SEP 14 1973

Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

9/4/73

Date

Attached airtel and letterhead memorandum refers to an article in the 8/3/73 issue of "The Winston-Salem Journal," a Winston-Salem, North Carolina, newspaper; and an article in the 9/1/73 issue of "The Black Panther," the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party (BPP) ostensibly exposing one Wilbert Allen as a police informer and inferring that Allen worked for the FBI.

Allen has not ever been an employee or an informant for the FBI. He was interviewed on one occasion during 6/73 concerning BPP and possible civil unrest in Winston-Salem area by SA Zachary T. Lowe, who was mentioned in the BPP article by name. Since it was determined during interview that Allen was then and had been an informant of the Winston-Salem Police Department for seven years, no further contact was had with him.

This information was furnished by Charlotte in view of the anticipated article in the "The Black Panther" and the probable insertion of SA Lowe's name. You will be kept advised of any further developments concerning this incident.

HM:bkh

EM

GCH

F B I

Date: 8/30/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
EM - BPP

For the information of the Bureau and San Francisco, information has been developed at Winston-Salem, N. C., indicating that HUEY P. NEWTON, National Chairman of the BPP, has been requested to make a speech in Winston-Salem at the Winston-Salem State University, a predominantly black educational institution, in late September or early October, 1973.

Additionally, NEWTON will also dedicate the Free Ambulance Program of the BPP in Winston-Salem. The BPP in Winston-Salem has purchased a \$15,000 emergency vehicle and is presently building a four-car garage behind BPP Headquarters.

Recent events in Winston-Salem resulting in a confrontation with local police officers involving sniper fire continues to be a focal point of discussion among BPP members. Of equal constant discussion is the impending controversy surrounding the Free Ambulance Program. County and city officials have indicated that the BPP will not be permitted to operate an emergency vehicle and the Winston-Salem Police Department has every intention of enforcing ordinances prohibiting unauthorized use of emergency vehicles.

- 2 - Bureau
2 - San Francisco (157-1204)
2 - Charlotte

ZTL:pbh
(6)

REC-26

105-165706-8-715

10 SEP 6 1973

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

CE 157-6171

Members of the BPP have indicated they have every intention of operating the Free Ambulance Program in defiance of any regulations and anticipate support from the black community. BPP leaders will appear on a local radio station 9/9/73 to launch their appeal. Information received to date would indicate the BPP has gained a great deal of community support in the recent past and the Free Ambulance Program is the means whereby the BPP will test that support. ()

The arrival of NEWTON in Winston-Salem in the near future would greatly aid the BPP and would possibly add to an explosive situation in an already racially tense city. ()

LEADS

SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Will expeditiously ascertain and furnish Charlotte with all information available regarding any planned travel of HUEY NEWTON and/or other highly publicized figures to Winston-Salem in September or October, 1973. Determine length of stay and location, if possible, as well as any schedules made of activity while in Winston-Salem. ()

CHARLOTTE DIVISION

AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

1. Will maintain contact with logical sources and Winston-Salem Police Department regarding additional information. ()
2. Will submit LHM if travel of NEWTON confirmed in view of possible violent situation. ()

FBI

Date: 6/29/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 3)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
QUARTERLY SUMMARY
RM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 4/2/73. (1)

PART IThe following information was obtained or confirmed
by [REDACTED]Organization and StatusBlack Panther Party, Winston-Salem, N. C., headquarters
at 1333 North Patterson Avenue.MembershipAssignedIn JailTemporarily Assigned ElsewhereTotal Active Charlotte Div.

18

3117

4

11

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte

APR:pbh

(6)

Approved: 55 JUN 17 1973
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

CE 157-6171

Community Workers

5 (estimated)

Leadership

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Field Lieutenant

NELSON MALLOY, Second in Command - Free Ambulance
Program Director

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense

LEE FAYE MACK, Advisor

MARIE MOORE, Officer of the Day

RICKIE HOOPER, Public Relations and Reporter

BEATRICE FULTON, Secretary

BPP Pads

1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Apartment (1)
411 14th Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Community Activities

A. Free Clothing Program

Functions on a very limited scale

B. Free Pest Control Program

Limited Operation

C. Free breakfast for Children Program

Not operational

D. George Jackson Liberation School

Not operational

E. Free Ambulance Program

Projected

Speeches

None

Arrests and Convictions

LARRY LITTLE, head of the Winston-Salem BPP Chapter, is scheduled to be tried the week of 6/25/73 in Forsyth County Superior Court, Winston-Salem, N. C., on a charge of carrying a concealed weapon. This charge stems from a January, 1971, incident when LITTLE was observed by Forsyth County Sheriff's Deputies, Winston-Salem, N. C., to be carrying a .38 caliber pistol.

Three BPP members at High Point, N. C., also known as the "High Point 3" are in jail in North Carolina serving seven to ten year sentences resulting from a conviction on charges of armed with a deadly weapon.

Finances

During May, 1973, sources reported that the National Episcopal Church approved a \$35,700 grant to the Winston-Salem branch of the BPP for the purpose of operating a non-emergency medical transportation project in Winston-Salem, N. C. Sources reported that most of the money has already been received by the Panthers, who in turn have paid \$15,000 cash for an ambulance (delivery date set for 6/29/73), and purchased a 1970 Ford Station Wagon, a 1970 Ford Econoline van and a 1970 Mercury automobile. All of the above vehicles have been financed, with the exception of the ambulance. Also, construction has begun on a garage, located near BPP Headquarters, to house the above vehicles.

However, sources report that not all of the Episcopal Church money has gone for the non-emergency medical transportation project. An unknown amount of the church money was forwarded to BPP Headquarters, Oakland, California, and utilized in BOBBY SEALE's run-off campaign for Mayor of Oakland. Also, some of

the money is projected for recruiting and organizing activities within the Winston-Salem BPP. Additionally, \$2,200 of the church money has gone for a project known as "Everybody Is A Star". This is a profit motivated black business venture, instituted and controlled by the BPP, the function of which is to produce clothing for the black community. Five sewing machines have been purchased and a sewing or tailoring service is provided for members of the black community for a fee.

Factionalism

During the months of April, May, and June, 1973, no information was received other than that the Winston-Salem, N. C. Black Panther Party Chapter continues to follow the philosophy of HUEY P. NEWTON.

PART II

The following is a summary of the Black Panther Party activities in the Charlotte Division for the months of April, May, and June, 1973:

As noted previously, the Winston-Salem Panthers have purchased an ambulance, the purpose of which is to furnish free ambulance service to members of the black community. In order to obtain a permit to drive an emergency vehicle within the city limits of Winston-Salem, N. C., city ordinances provide that all occupants of the vehicle, with the exception of the patient, must have received first-aid training. Winston-Salem city officials have indicated that the Panthers will not be allowed to operate their vehicle utilizing emergency-type equipment, such as sirens, lights, etc., or to exceed speed limits within the city limits. City officials have indicated that the Panthers will only be allowed to utilize their ambulance as a convalescence vehicle. The Panthers anticipate contesting this ruling and utilizing this as a vehicle for favorable publicity. Also, the possibility of an open confrontation with the Winston-Salem Police Department over this issue cannot be ruled out.

Survival, Incorporated

Sources reported during April, 1973, that the Winston-Salem, N. C. BPP Chapter has established an organization known as Survival, Incorporated, which has been chartered in the state of North Carolina. This is a non-profit organization organized to assist minorities in overcoming their poverty and

prejudices. It now appears that this organization has no real function other than to afford the BPP a legitimate means of obtaining financing for BPP vehicles through banking institutions, which institutions would not normally assist the BPP.

Travel

Four members of the Winston-Salem, N. C. BPP Chapter are currently in Oakland, California. Two of these are expected to return to Winston-Salem during July, 1973. One of the four, HAZEL HACK, is in Oakland reportedly making arrangements for a visit to Winston-Salem, N. C., by HUEY P. WELTON, BPP Co-founder. Plans presently call for WELTON to speak at Winston-Salem State University, Winston-Salem, N. C., sometime during September, 1973.

[REDACTED] Chapter Head LARRY LITTLE, attended a rally featuring ANGELA DAVIS, at Wilmington, N. C., on 6/17/73. Purpose of the rally was to show support for BENJAMIN FRANKLIN CHAVIS, Director of the North Carolina-Virginia Commission for Racial Justice. CHAVIS, along with two other persons, were being tried in New Hanover County Superior Court, Wilmington, N. C., on Accessory After Fact - Murder. LITTLE spoke briefly at the rally, sounding support for CHAVIS. The Panthers returned to Winston-Salem, N. C., 6/19/73.)

XXXXXX
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FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHARLOTTE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 4/12/73	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/25/72 - 4/7/73
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY gdp
		CHARACTER OF CASE EXTREMIST MATTERS	

REFERENCE:

Charlotte report of SA [REDACTED] 10/31/72.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Copy of this report has been designated locally to United States Secret Service.

Copies of FD-376 attached.

All Black Panther Party members mentioned in this report are subjects of investigations in the Charlotte Division.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
APPROVED					SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE:					105-165706-8-711 REC-48 ST-103		
11 - Bureau (105-165706 Sub 8) (RM) 1 - Secret Service, Charlotte, N.C., (RM) 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM) 2 - Charlotte (157-6171)							
Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations		
Agency	AGENCY: ASST. ATTY. GEN., SEC. SERV.						
Request Recd.	2. S. [REDACTED] IDIU. CD						
Date Fwd.							
How Fwd.							
By	54 APR 27 1973						

COVER PAGE

CE 157-6171

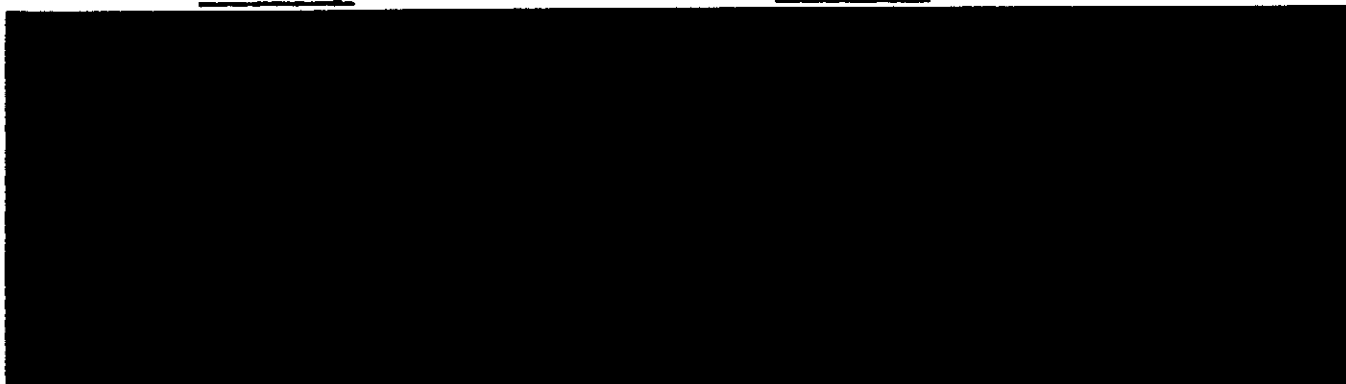
Investigation at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

The next report will be submitted in October, 1973.

INFORMANTS:

Identity

Location



LEAD:

CHARLOTTE

AT CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

Will continue to follow and report activities of the Black Panther Party in North Carolina.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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105-165706-8-711 pages C-D*

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, Charlotte, North Carolina (RM)

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office: CHARLOTTE

Date:

APRIL 12, 1973

Field Office File #: 157-6171

Bureau File #: 105-165706 Sub 8

Title:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character:

EXTREMIST MATTERS

Synopsis:

Headquarters of the North Carolina Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and is under the leadership of LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Field Lieutenant. Information concerning pads, arrests and convictions, community activity, factionalism, finances, political activities, travel of BPP members, and weapons and fortification set out in the report. U

- P -

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DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL DATA

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

A. LOCATION OF NORTH CAROLINA HEADQUARTERS

North Carolina chapter of Black Panther Party (BPP), 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

The above headquarters is located in a two story frame house situated in a predominantly black residential neighborhood. The house was purchased under a lease-purchase agreement in the name of HAZEL LEE MACK and LEE FAYE MACK with an initial down payment of \$500 and monthly rent of \$100 per month to be applied to the purchase price of the house at the end of five years. The total purchase price for the house was \$8,500.

Source: 

B. OFFICERS AND MEMBERSHIP

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Field Lieutenant

HAZEL MAE MACK
Communications Secretary

DELORES WRIGHT
Secretary

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., who has the title of Captain of Defense, returned from Oakland, California, during December, 1972, where he had apparently been receiving training and aiding with the political campaign in that city.

Membership totals ()

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

CE 157-6171

<u>ASSIGNED</u>	<u>IN JAIL</u>	<u>TEMPORARILY ASSIGNED ELSEWHERE</u>	<u>TOTAL ACTIVE CHARLOTTE DIVISION</u>	<u>COMMUNITY WORKERS</u>
20	4	3	13	4 (estimated)

Sources: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

C. PADS

1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Apartment
411 14th Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

During November, 1972, a fire broke out at one of the two 411 14th Street apartments rented by the Black Panther Party and some of the clothing collected for their December Survival Day Program was destroyed. Shortly thereafter, due to a combination of lack of funds and the above fire, the panthers moved out of this apartment. They continue to occupy the other apartment located at this address.

Source: [REDACTED]

II. BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES

A. ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS

1. Convictions of three Black Panther Party members upheld

The North Carolina Court of Appeals, Raleigh, North Carolina, found no error in the case of LARRY MEDLEY and co-defendants, BRADFORD MIZELLE LILLEY and RANDOLPH JENNINGS, who were convicted for assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill on February 4, 1972, in High Point, North Carolina, for which they received 7-10 year sentences. The defendants filed a petition of appeal to the North Carolina Supreme Court. MEDLEY, LILLEY and JENNINGS, more commonly known as the "High Point 3", were three BPP members from High Point, North Carolina.

Source: [REDACTED]

Superior Court,
Guilford County,
Greensboro, North
Carolina,
November 14, 1972

The North Carolina Supreme Court denied the petition of appeal of defendants MEDLEY, LILLEY, and JENNINGS; therefore, their convictions on February 14, 1972, of assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill and 7-10 year sentences will stand and they will begin serving their sentences.

Source: [REDACTED]

Guilford County
Solicitor
Greensboro, North
Carolina
December 20, 1972

LARRY MEDLEY, BRADFORD LILLEY, and RANDOLPH JENNINGS are currently incarcerated and serving 7-10 year sentences.

Source: [REDACTED]

Records Section
North Carolina
Department of Correction
Raleigh, North Carolina
February 8, 1973

2. Three Black Panther Party members
plead no contest

LARRY LITTLE, JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., and GRADY FULLER, members of the Black Panther Party, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, contacted the Forsyth County Solicitor, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, through their attorneys, JAMES E. FERGUSON, II, and JAMES E. KEENN, regarding plea bargaining. The defense's proposition was accepted and on March 19, 1973, the three defendants, LITTLE, CORNELL, and FULLER pleaded no contest to misdemeanor larceny, and assault charges and these pleas were accepted by Judge J. WILLIAM COPELAND. These charges resulted from the theft of a meat truck on January 12, 1971, at Siler City, North Carolina, and various motions and appeals had delayed proceedings to this point.

GRADY FULLER who had been previously charged with stealing the meat truck and firing the shotgun at two police officers was, after plea bargaining, charged with misdemeanor larceny and two counts of misdemeanor assault on an officer. FULLER was sentenced to 90 days in jail with credit for 12 days already served for awaiting trial and was further ordered to pay the amount of \$133 as one third value of the missing meat. Defendants LITTLE and CORNELL who had been charged with accessory after the fact of the felony of larceny entered no contest pleas to misdemeanor charges and each was given a 6 month jail sentence suspended for two years and ordered to pay \$133 each for the value of the missing meat. ()

Forsyth County
Winston-Salem,
North Carolina,
March 20, 1973

CE 157-6171

Approximately 250 black people attended the trial of Black Panther Party leader LARRY LITTLE and two other BPP members at the Forsyth County Courthouse on March 19, 1973. These individuals were quite vocal and were in good spirits after it was determined that the trial would be over in view of the plea bargaining arrangements by the defense's attorneys immediately after the adjournment of the court. LARRY LITTLE, Head of the BPP, called a news conference on the steps of the courthouse and indicated to those assembled that he, CORNELL, and FULLER had pleaded not guilty to any charges, but they had simply decided not to fight this issue in view of the fact they had no faith in the judicial system in North Carolina. LITTLE stated that he and his comrades had dedicated their lives to the black community and their function in this community is too important to risk merely to prove a point in court. LITTLE stated that the BPP would continue to probe into the judicial system and attempt to expose its injustices and that the BPP would continue to operate its Survival Day Programs which involved giving food, clothing, and help to poor people. U

Source: CE T-2
March 21, 1973

The April 7, 1973, issue of the Black Panther, a BPP newspaper, carried an article entitled "Supreme Court Reversal Convicts Panthers in 'Meat Truck' Trial", which indicated that the one day trial of Brothers GRADY FULLER, LARRY LITTLE, and JULIUS CORNELL, members of the BPP, and active community organizers in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had resulted in their convictions on "larceny" and "assault" charges. The three brothers were arrested in January, 1971, at a time when hundreds of BPP members were being arrested on a variety of false charges. All across the country, police and Government agencies were staging raid after raid on BPP information offices and survival centers. Party members were being murdered indiscriminately as the NIXON Administration strove to smash the survival programs, and halt the party's organizing efforts. The article went on to indicate that GRADY FULLER was "set up", when a man drove up to the Winston-Salem BPP house in a meat truck, and offered its contents as a donation to the Breakfast Program. The article also indicated that over 100 well armed Winston-Salem police led by the FBI, unleashed a barrage of high caliber weapons fire upon the center. FULLER was charged with larceny, assault, and stealing the truck and driving it to the office, although he did not know how to drive. LITTLE and CORNELL were arrested two days later and charged with being "accessories after the fact." U

The article further indicated that the judge reduced the felony charges to misdemeanors and Brothers LARRY and JULIUS received 6 month suspended sentences, while Brother GRADY received 90 days. Each was fined \$250.

B. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

1. Free Programs

Free Clothing Program functions on a very limited basis. ()

Free Pest Control Program is not operational. ()

Free Breakfast for Children Program is not operational.

George Jackson Liberation School is not operational. ()

2. Survival Day Rally

The Black Panther Party, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, sponsored a Survival Day Program on December 17, 1972, at the North Elementary School in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The program began at approximately 3 P.M. and ended at 5:30 P.M. Approximately 700 persons were in attendance, a figure well above the anticipated number. In view of the large crowd, the BPP members were completely disorganized. ()

Approximately \$2,600 worth of merchandise was given away during this Survival Day Program, including shoes, pants, pajamas, underwear, coats for children, boots, and other necessary items for the winter months. Many of these items were obtained from a local discount warehouse. ()

A total of 250 sickle cell anemia shots were given during the program and 96 people registered to vote. ()

In view of the crowd assembled, LARRY LITTLE determined it was an excellent opportunity to speak to the community and hurriedly put together a brief program which was emceed by HAZEL MAE MACK, a member of the North Carolina Chapter of the BPP. MACK introduced the following speakers: ()

LARRY LITTLE spoke about the opposition of the black people to the seemingly growing instances when confrontations with police have resulted. LITTLE spoke of depression and obvious intentional harassment by the local police agencies. He stated that the BPP has come a long way from guns to shoes and he expects greater things in the days to come. He further indicated that members of the BPP would be running for local office in the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, area and urged those assembled to assist in their efforts to obtain power for the people.

ISAIAH CARDWELL, BPP member, presented a brief slide show of numerous photographs of the Winston-Salem area comparing the downtown renewal program of a new Federal Building, a new city hall, new bank building, against the background of the decaying ghetto. CARDWELL attempted to dramatize the point that the ruling class was spending all the money for the ruling class and nothing for the people who really needed help. CARDWELL's presentation appeared to be well received by those persons in attendance.

LARRY LITTLE commented at the conclusion of the Survival Day Program that he felt it was most successful in that similar programs would be planned for the future as the best way to win the people is to give them what they need.

Source: 

3. BPP Seeks Investigation of Incident
Involving Shooting of Young Black
By Police Officer

The March 10, 1973, issue of the Winston-Salem Journal Winston-Salem, North Carolina, carried an article on Page 3 entitled "Panthers Seek Probe of Shooting." This article indicated that the BPP demanded that the policeman who wounded AUGUSTUS MINOR, age 22, be suspended pending an investigation by an impartial citizens committee appointed by the Board of Aldermen. The panthers also advocated the creation of a police review board composed of a cross section of the community to include city officials.

The article further indicated that LARRY LITTLE, Co-ordinator of the BPP, stated the shooting "was totally unnecessary".

The article indicated MINOR was shot by Patrolman J. L. CALDWELL, a black, after CALDWELL stated he saw a man fleeing from a house at 429 Burton Street. CALDWELL stated he stumbled and his pistol, which was cocked, discharged twice. MINOR was wounded in the right buttock.

LITTLE stated "by not suspending the police officer, it allows our policemen to fall into a period of complacency whereas they feel that they can do anything in the black oppressed community and their action will be unquestioned."

The article indicated CALDWELL had not been placed on administrative leave and no action against him was contemplated by the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Police Department.

4. Non-BPP-Sponsored Community Activities

LEE FAYE MACK is employed as a neighborhood coordinator in the Planned Variations Section of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Model Cities Program. Mrs. MACK's position with this program entails handling complaints in the northeast section of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which section is composed of a population that is approximately 98 percent Negro. Mrs. MACK works at the Citizens Participation Agency Office, 1500 English Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; and this office is part of the Model Cities Program. Mrs. MACK was appointed to this position by the mayor of Winston-Salem and is one of ten such coordinators located within the Model Cities Program in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

The Model Cities Program is federally funded; however, the exact amount of federal funds available for the Winston-Salem area is unknown. Mrs. MACK does not hold a decision-making position regarding how funds are spent within the program; however, she does have influence in regard to the direction of some of the program's activities in Winston-Salem. Mrs. MACK's position with the Model Cities Program calls for her to do some traveling on behalf of the City of Winston-Salem, and any expenses incurred are paid for by the Model Cities Program.

Source: 

LEE FAYE MACK is a Negro female, approximately forty years of age, who is self-described as Advisor to the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Black Panther Party (BPP) chapter.

There is no indication of any efforts by the BPP, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to subvert legitimate interests or to obtain or control funds of the Winston-Salem Model Cities Program. ()

Sources: [REDACTED]

C. FACTIONALISM

LARRY LITTLE, head of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, chapter of the Black Panther Party, stated that the BPP was going to support ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. LITTLE indicated that he considered CLEAVER an oppressed person. LITTLE further stated that HUEY NEWTON, whose BPP philosophy the Winston-Salem group follows, and others have discussed CLEAVER and his faction of the BPP and are now willing to back CLEAVER even though he had earlier defected from the Party. According to LITTLE, CLEAVER's defection supposedly was prompted because he would not be intimidated and harassed. LITTLE stated that he would back CLEAVER with any means, whether it meant guns or Survival Day Programs. Source stated that LITTLE's remarks regarding CLEAVER were not favorably received by the Winston-Salem Panthers who overheard him make the comments. ()

Source: [REDACTED]

A split occurred in the BPP during February, 1971, resulting in one faction aligning itself with the BPP International Section headed by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and the other remaining loyal to HUEY P. NEWTON, the Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the California headquartered BPP. In a March, 1971, press conference, the New York Chapter of the BPP announced its allegiance to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. Additionally, stating it would recognize KATHLEEN CLEAVER as the Communications Secretary of the BPP. ()

D. FINANCES

The Winston-Salem, North Carolina, BPP Chapter was given a check for \$7,000 from the insurance company of JOSEPH E. WADDELL, BPP member who died in Central Prison, Raleigh, North Carolina, during June, 1972. WADDELL named the Winston-Salem BPP Chapter as beneficiary of a \$7,000 insurance policy on himself. Some of this money went for the December, 1972, BPP sponsored Survival Day Rally held at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, at which the BPP had on hand \$2,600 in cash. The remainder of the \$7,000 was in LARRY LITTLE's possession. ()

Source: [REDACTED]

The principal source of income for the North Carolina BPP chapter is through the sale of the Black Panther weekly newspaper published by the BPP. The chapter receives approximately 2-5,000 copies of the BPP newspaper each month which are sent by air freight from the printer in New York City. ()

The newspaper sells for 25 cents each and half of the proceeds from newspaper sales is forwarded to BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California. ()

The BPP also supplements its income by soliciting donations for the various programs as well as for bond money and legal defense money for its various members who have been prosecuted or are awaiting prosecution. ()

The BPP operates on a cash basis and a cash box is maintained at BPP Headquarters under the control of LARRY LITTLE. ()

Members of the BPP are unemployed and devote their full time to their BPP activities which includes extensive travel throughout North Carolina selling the BPP newspapers. ()

Sources: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

E. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

LARRY LITTLE in a speech delivered before approximately 700 people during the December 17, 1972, BPP sponsored Survival Day Rally held at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, stated that BPP member MARY MC DONALD will run for office in the Winston-Salem area and he urged everyone present to support the BPP when its members began running for public office. He stated that the assistance of the people was necessary in order for the BPP to be successful. U

Source: CE T-1
December 18, 1972

F. TRAVEL OF BPP MEMBERS

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, BPP Chapter, returned to Winston-Salem from Oakland, California, during December, 1972. CORNELL had been in Oakland since May, 1972, apparently aiding in the BPP political campaign in that city. U

Source: [REDACTED]

Three other Winston-Salem BPP members are currently in Oakland, California, aiding in the political campaign. U
They are as follows:

HAVEN HENDERSON

BERNARD PATTERSON

WILLIAM MC CLAIN

Source: [REDACTED]

All BPP members are expected to sell copies of the BPP newspapers and travel to the major cities in North Carolina to sell papers and solicit donations for the various BPP programs. U

Source: CE T-2
March 21, 1973

CE 157-6171

G. WEAPONS AND FORTIFICATIONS



At least one rifle is maintained at BPP Headquarters, 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; however, no fortification, protective device, or material capable of being utilized to manufacture explosive items or incendiary device has been detected at the headquarters building.

Source: [REDACTED]



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
APRIL 12, 1973

Title	BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Character	EXTREMIST MATTERS
Reference	Report prepared at Charlotte, North Carolina, by SA [REDACTED] [REDACTED], dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed
in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

F B I

Date: 4/2/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
MONTHLY SUMMARY
EM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau, 3/2/73.

PART I.The following information was obtained or confirmed
by [REDACTED]ORGANIZATION AND STATUSBlack Panther Party
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue.

MEMBERSHIP

<u>ASSIGNED</u>	<u>IN JAIL</u>	<u>TEMPORARILY ASSIGNED ELSEWHERE</u>	<u>TOTAL ACTIVE CHARLOTTE DIVISION</u>	<u>COMMUNITY WORKERS</u>
20	3	3	14	4 (estimated)

- ② - Bureau (RM) REC-111
2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
2 - Charlotte

APR:egp
(6)

5 APR 5 1973

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

LEADERSHIP

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Field Lieutenant

HAZEL MAE MACK, Communications Secretary

DELORES WRIGHT, Secretary

RUSSELL MC DONALD, Director of Distribution for
North Carolina Black Panther Party Newspaper.

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense

BPP PADS1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North
Carolina.Apartment (1)
411 14th Street, Winston-Salem, North CarolinaCOMMUNITY ACTIVITIESA. Free Clothing Program

Functions on a very limited scale

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not operational

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program

Not operational

D. George Jackson Liberation School

Not operational

2

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

NON-BPP COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

LEE FAYE MACK, self described as advisor to the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Black Panther Party Chapter, is employed as Neighborhood Coordinator in the Planned Variations Section of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Model Cities Program. MACK was appointed to this position by the mayor of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The Model Cities Program is Federally funded; however, the exact amount of Federal funds available in the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, area is unknown at the present time. Mrs. MACK does not hold a decision making position regarding how funds are spent within the program, and there is no indication at this time of BPP efforts to subvert the activities of the Model Cities Program or to control its funds. U

SPEECHES

None

ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS

See Part II

FACTIONALISM

During February, 1973, no information was received other than that the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Black Panther Party Chapter, continues to follow HUEY P. NEWTON. U

PART II.

The following is a summary of the Black Panther Party activities in Charlotte Division: U

Activities of the Winston-Salem Chapter of the BPP during the month of March, 1973, centered around the trial of three of its members. LARRY LITTLE, head of the BPP Chapter, JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., and GRADY FULLER pleaded no contest to a misdemeanor, larceny and assault charges after a plea-bargaining session between the Forsyth County, Winston-Salem,

3

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

North Carolina, Solicitor and the subjects' defense attorney. FULLER received a sentence of 90 days in jail and was fined \$133. LITTLE and CORNELL were given six month jail sentences suspended for two years and fined \$133 each.

Immediately following the March 19, 1973, trial, LARRY LITTLE held a press conference and stated that none of the Panthers were admitting guilt in this matter. He stated lack of faith in the judiciary system caused them to plead no contest to the charges.

[REDACTED]

Aside from the above trial and selling of the Black Panther Party newspaper, no other incidents on the part of the BPP Chapter were noted during March, 1973.

Three Winston-Salem, North Carolina, BPP members remain in Oakland, California, aiding the BPP political campaign in that city. Sources report that these three will probably return to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, following the April 17, 1973, Oakland City elections.

Three BPP members at High Point, North Carolina, also known as the "High Point Three", are in jail in North Carolina serving a 7 to 10 year sentence resulting from a conviction on a charge of armed with a deadly weapon.

At the March 19, 1973, press conference held by LITTLE, he indicated the BPP will continue to operate the Survival Day Programs, which involves giving food, clothing and health tests to poor people.

4

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

FBI

Date: 3/22/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (SUB 8)
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
EXTREMIST MATTERS

[REDACTED] on 3/19/73, three defendants, LITTLE CORNELL, and FULLER, pleaded no contest to misdemeanor, larceny, and assault charges and these pleas were accepted by Judge J. WILLIAM COPELAND.

[REDACTED] further advised that GRADY FULLER was who had previously been charged with stealing a meat truck and firing a shotgun at two Police Officers and was after plea bargaining charged with misdemeanor larceny charge and two counts of misdemeanor assault on Officer. FULLER was sentenced to 90 days in jail with credit for 12 days already served while awaiting trial and was further ordered to pay \$133 as one third value of the missing meat. Defendants LITTLE and CORNELL who had been charged with accessory after the fact to the felony of larceny entered no contest pleas to misdemeanor charges and each was given a six month jail sentence suspended for two years and ordered to \$133 each for the value of the missing meat.

EX-111

REC-23

105-165706-8-709

2 - Bureau
3 - Charlotte (2-157-6171)

23 MAR 26 1973

ZTL:mwb
(7)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on 3/21/73, that approximately 250 black people attended the trial set for LARRY LITTLE and other Black Panther Party members at the Forsyth County Courthouse on 3/19/73. [REDACTED] stated these individuals were quite vocal and were in good spirits after it was determined that the trial would be over in view of plea bargaining arranged by the defense attorneys. [REDACTED] stated that immediately after the adjournment of the Court, LARRY LITTLE, Head of Black Panther Party, called a news conference on the steps of the Courthouse and indicated to those assembled that he, CORNELL, ~~not~~ FULLER had pled guilty to any charges, but they had simply decided not to fight this issue in view of the fact they had no faith in the judicial system in North Carolina and was even more convinced of the fact that black people receiving justice after the trial of another Black Panther in Wilmington, N. C. LITTLE stated that he and his comrades had dedicated their lives to the black community and that their function in that community is too important to risk merely to prove a point in Court. LITTLE stated that the Black Panthers would continue to probe into the judicial system and attempt to expose its injustices and that the Party would continue to operate its survival programs which involved giving food, clothing, and help to poor people. ✓

- 2 -

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date: 3/20/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
FINANCES
EXTREMIST MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau dated 2/16/73.

During the month of February, 1973, the Winston-Salem, N. C., BPP Chapter continued to maintain its headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, N. C. The Panthers have moved from one of their apartments located at 411 14th. St., Winston-Salem, N. C. They now occupy only one apartment at this address. The Panthers were forced to give up one of their apartments because of a lack of funds.

The BPP Chapter has never settled its past due account with the telephone company, and as a result, a pay telephone has been installed at the headquarters building.

A. SOURCES OF INCOME

During February, 1973, the party ordered or received an estimated 3,000 copies of the BPP newspaper which were delivered by way of air freight in the name of RUSSELL MC DONALD, Distribution Manager. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] during February, 1973, and the party continued to operate on a cash basis and through the use of bank money orders.

- 2 - Bureau
1 - San Francisco (157-1485)
2 - Charlotte

APR:kfb
(5)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

REC 21

EX-101

105-165706-8-708

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

The estimated 3,000 copies of the BPP newspaper sold during February, 1973, represents an increase over the number of papers sold in the months of December and January. The Panthers continue their policy of travelling to various cities throughout the State of North Carolina to sell their papers. ()

Contributions to the local Panther chapter have increased significantly during the month of February. Sources report that the party has taken in as much as \$150 a week in donations. Local Black merchants are reportedly providing the bulk of this money. ()

BPP is presently trying to raise \$900 as a bail fund to be used during or immediately after the BPP trial scheduled to begin on 3/19/73. LARRY LITTLE, Head of the local chapter, and two other local Panthers are being tried on charges stemming from the theft of a meat truck in January, 1971. The Panthers feel that these three will be convicted, and bond money will be needed for them during the period in which convictions will be under appeal. U

Sources report that there are no plans at the present for any future Survival Day rallies, such as the one held during December, 1972. The Panthers will continue in their efforts to sell BPP newspapers and solicit donations from the local merchants. U

B. FOREIGN SOURCES

None reported. J

C. EXPENSES

2

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Half the price of the newspapers of \$375 would be owed to the California headquarters of BPP in addition to an estimated \$20 per week air freight charge. BPP headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Ave. is being purchased under a lease-purchase agreement with the mortgage rental of \$100 per month, to be applied toward the purchase of the house. ()

D. OPERATIONS

HAZEL MACK continues to handle the finances for the chapter. [REDACTED] and all financial transactions are handled in cash or money orders.

E. MISCELLANEOUSIncome

Newspaper sales (approximate) \$ 750 ()

Expenses

Newspapers	\$ 375
Freight for papers	80
Rent	100
Rent	40
total.....	\$ 595 ()

No estimate could be made of unsold papers or the personal expenses of the members. Newspaper sales are still short of what the party would like them to be. All of the Winston-Salem BPP members are unemployed, and the party continues to have a number of outstanding unpaid bills. The party is still behind on its mortgage rental payments on the headquarters building at 1333 North Patterson Ave.; however, sources report that the owner of this building is not pressuring the Panthers for these payments. ()

3

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 3/2/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
MONTHLY SUMMARY
EM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau, dated 2/5/73.

PART I.The following information was obtained or confirmed
by [REDACTED]ORGANIZATION AND STATUSBlack Panther Party
Winston Salem, North Carolina U

Headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue. U

MEMBERSHIP

<u>Assigned</u>	<u>In Jail</u>	<u>Temporarily Assigned Elsewhere</u>	<u>Total Active Charlotte Division</u>	<u>Community Workers</u>
20	3	EX-104	14	4 (estimated)

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
2 - Charlotte

APR:mpb
(6)

Approved: _____

57 MAR 16 1973

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

LEADERSHIP

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Field Lieutenant

HAZEL MAE MACK, Communications Secretary

DELORES WRIGHT, Secretary

RUSSELL MC DONALD, Director of Distribution for
North Carolina Black Panther Party Newspaper.

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense

BPP PADS1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston Salem, North
Carolina.

Apartment

411 14th Street, Winston Salem, North Carolina

The Panthers have moved from one of their apartments located at 411 14th Street, Winston Salem, N. C. No arrangements have yet been made to obtain a replacement for this residence. The Winston Salem Panthers now occupy their headquarters building on Patterson Avenue, and one apartment at 411 14th Street, Winston Salem, N. C. Lack of funds was reason for the Panthers vacating one of their 14th Street apartments.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIESA. Free Clothing Program

Functions on a very limited scale

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not operational

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge-2-
Sent

_____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program

Not operational

D. George Jackson Liberation School

Not operational

NON-BPP COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

LEE FAYE MACK, self described as advisor to the Winston Salem, North Carolina, BPP Chapter, is employed as Neighborhood Coordinator in the Planned Variations Section of Winston Salem, North Carolina, Model Cities Program. MACK was appointed to this position by the mayor of Winston Salem. The Model Cities Program is Federally funded; however, the exact amount of Federal funds available in the Winston Salem, North Carolina, area is unknown at the present time. Mrs. MACK does not hold a decision making position regarding how funds are spent within the program, and there is no indication at this time of BPP efforts to subvert the activities of the Model Cities Program or to control its funds.

SPEECHES

None

ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS

None

FACTIONALISM

During February, 1973, no information was received other than that the Winston Salem, North Carolina, BPP Chapter continues to follow HUEY P. NEWTON. (16)

-3-

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

PART II

The following is a summary of the BPP activities in ()
the Charlotte Division:

During the month of February, 1973, public activities of the Winston Salem BPP, except for sale of party newspaper, remained nil. Party members were seen in Burlington, Chapel Hill, Greensboro, Salisbury, and Winston Salem, N. C., selling copies of The Black Panther. No activities are being planned by the party, as members anxiously await the upcoming trial of three of their fellow Panthers scheduled to begin 3/19/73. LARRY LITTLE, Head of the BPP Chapter, and JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense, are charged with being an Accessory After the Fact of a Felony. This charge stems from the larceny of a meat truck in January, 1971, for which GRADY FULLER, BPP member, has been charged. Various motions and appeals have delayed the trial, which is now scheduled for () March, 1973.

Three Winston Salem BPP members remain in Oakland, California, aiding with the local BPP Political Campaign in that city. Sources report that these three may possibly return to Winston in April, 1973. U

BPP members LARRY MEDLEY and BRADFORD MIZELL LILLEY of High Point, N.C., have joined their fellow Panther member RANDOLPH JENNINGS in jail. MEDLEY and LILLEY have been released on bond pending appeals of a conviction on a charge of Armed with a Deadly Weapon. JENNINGS remained in jail on this same conviction, unable to raise appeal bond money. These three convictions were upheld by the North Carolina Supreme Court and all three began to serve their seven to ten year sentences during the latter part of January, 1973. These three Panthers, also known as "The High Point Three," had been a "cause" around which the Winston Salem Panthers were able to rally during the past several years.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Sources report that the BPP plans to continue its Survival Day program and community actions in the future as a means of winning over the Black community. LARRY LITTLE maintains for the BPP to be successful, it must have the support of the Black community. U

-5-

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date: 2/5/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 MONTHLY SUMMARY
 EM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau dated 1/4/73.)

PART IThe following information was obtained or confirmed
by [REDACTED]ORGANIZATION AND STATUS

Black Panther Party
 Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue.)

MEMBERSHIP

<u>Assigned</u>	<u>In Jail</u>	<u>Temporarily Assigned Elsewhere</u>	<u>Total Active Charlotte Division</u>	<u>Community Workers</u>
20	1	3		4 (estimated)

2 - Bureau (RM)
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
 2 - Charlotte

APR:nsh

(6)

REC-40

ST-102

105-165706-8-706

FEB 8 1973

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

LEADERSHIP

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, Field Lieutenant

HAZEL MAE MACK, Communications Secretary

DELORES WRIGHT, Secretary

RUSSELL McDONALD, Director of Distribution for
North Carolina Black Panther Party Newspaper

JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense

BPP PADS1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North
Carolina.Apartments (2)
411 14th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Sources reported that the Panthers are contemplating a move from one of the 14th Street apartments. This is due to a fire which broke out during November, 1972, at the apartment which caused some damage, and also due to the fact that the chapter has fallen behind on the rental payments on the apartment. Several Panthers are attempting to locate a new apartment to rent on 14th Street.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIESA. Free Clothing Program

Functions on a very limited scale

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not operational

2

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 O-350-001

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program**Not operational****D. George Jackson Liberation School****Not operational****NON-BPP COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES**

LEE FAYE MACK, self described as advisor to the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, BPP Chapter, is employed as Neighborhood Coordinator in the Planned Variations Section of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Model Cities Program. MACK was appointed to this position by the mayor of Winston-Salem. The Model Cities Program is Federally funded; however, the exact amount of Federal funds available in the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, area is unknown at the present time. Mrs. MACK does not hold a decision making position regarding how funds are spent within the program, and there is no indication at this time of BPP efforts to subvert the activities of the Model Cities Program or to control its funds.

SPEECHES**None****ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS****None****FACTIONALISM**

During January, 1973, no information was received other than that the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, BPP Chapter continues to follow HUEY P. NEWTON.

3

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

PART II

The following is a summary of the BPP activities in the Charlotte Division: ()

During the month of January, 1973, activities of the Winston-Salem BPP Chapter were confined to the sale of The Black Panther Newspaper. Sources report that BPP funds have fallen under \$100.00. No public activities are planned by the party in the foreseeable future, and most of its members are working toward the up coming trial of three of its members scheduled to begin in March, 1973. LARRY LITTLE, head of the BPP Chapter, and JULIUS WHITE CORNELL, JR., Captain of Defense, are charged with being an accessory after the fact of a felony. This charge stems from the larceny of a meat truck during January, 1971, for which GRADY FULLER, BPP Member, has been charged. Various motions and appeals have delayed the trial, which is now scheduled for March, 1973. ()

Three Winston-Salem BPP Members remain in Oakland, California, aiding with the BPP Political Campaign in that city. Sources report that these three may possibly return to Winston-Salem in April of this year. ()

BPP member RANDOLPH JENNINGS remains in North Carolina State Prison, Raleigh, N. C., following his conviction of assault charges. JENNINGS is a member of the "High Point Three", three BPP members from High Point, N. C., who were convicted on the same charge. The other two Panthers have been released on appeal bond. The Winston-Salem Chapter is continuing in its efforts to raise enough money to cover JENNINGS bond. ()

Sources report that the BPP plans to continue its survival day programs and community actions in the future as a means of winning over the black community. LARRY LITTLE maintains that for the BPP to be successful, it must have the support of the black community. ()

4

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 2/16/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 FINANCES
 EXTREMIST MATTERS

Re Charlotte Airtel to Bureau, 1/19/73.

During the month of January, 1973, the BPP Chapter, Winston-Salem, N. C., maintained its headquarters at 1333 N. Patterson Ave., Winston-Salem, N. C. The Chapter rents 2 apartments located at 411 14th St., Winston-Salem, also. These apartments are utilized as pads by the Panther members.

The Winston-Salem Panthers have never settled their past-due account with the telephone company and as a result, they utilize a pay telephone which has been installed at the headquarters building.

A. SOURCES OF INCOME

During January, 1973, the Party ordered or received an estimated 2,500 copies of the BPP newspaper, which were delivered by way of air freight in the name of RUSSELL MC DONALD, Distribution Manager. [REDACTED] during January, 1973, and the party continued to operate on a cash basis and through the use of bank Money Orders.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - San Francisco (157-1485)(Info)(RM)
 2 - Charlotte

APR:tld
 (5)

11 FEB 19 1973

51 MAR 2 1973

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____
 U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

An estimated 2,500 copies of the BPP newspaper sold during January, 1973, represents a slight increase over the number of papers sold during December, 1972; however, this total is still unsatisfactory as far as the chapter is concerned. The Panthers continue their policy of traveling to various cities throughout the State of North Carolina to sell their papers. U

Sources reported that the Winston-Salem BPP Chapter has received several monetary donations in the recent past. The exact source and amount of these contributions remains unknown at the present time; however, they are believed to be from some local contributor. U

The Winston-Salem Panthers are said to have resolved themselves to the idea that 3 of its members, including BPP leader LARRY LITTLE, are destined for jail in the near future. These 3 Panthers are scheduled to go to trial on 3/19/73 on various charges stemming from the theft of a meat truck in January, 1971. The Panthers feel that the 3 will be convicted and bond money will be needed for the 3 during the period in which the convictions will be under appeal. U

Source reported that there are no plans at present for any future Survival Day rallies, such as the one held in December. The Panthers will continue in their efforts of selling the BPP newspapers and soliciting donations from the local merchants. U

B. FOREIGN SOURCES

None reported. U

C. EXPENSES

Half the price of the newspapers of \$156.25 would be owed to the California Headquarters of the BPP in addition to

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

an estimated \$20 per week air freight charge. A BPP headquarters at 1333 N. Patterson Ave., is being purchased under a lease-purchase agreement for the mortgage rental of \$100 per month, to be applied toward the purchase of the house.

D. OPERATIONS

HAZEL MACK continues to handle the finances for the Chapter. [REDACTED] all financial transactions are handled in cash or Money Orders.

E. MISCELLANEOUSIncome

Newspaper sales (approximately)	\$625.00
---------------------------------	----------

Expenses

Newspapers	\$312.50
Freight for Papers	80.00
Rent	100.00
Rent	40.00
Rent	40.00

Total	\$572.50
-------	----------

No estimate could be made of unsold papers or the personal expenses of the members. Newspaper sales still remain short of what the party would like them to be. All of the Winston-Salem BPP members remain unemployed and the party continues to have a number of outstanding unpaid bills and is still behind on its mortgage rental payments on its headquarters building at 1333 N. Patterson Ave.

3

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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105-165706-8-704

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F B I

Date: 1/19/73

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 FINANCES
 EXTREMIST MATTERS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 12/19/72.

During the month of 12/72, the BPP Chapter, Winston-Salem, N. C., continued to operate from its headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, N. C. The BPP rents two apartments, which are used as pads by the members, located at 411 14th Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Sources report that the Panthers are contemplating moving from one of their 14th Street apartments. This is due to a fire which broke out during 11/72 at the apartment which caused some damage, and also due to the fact that the chapter has fallen behind on its rental payments on the apartment. Several Panthers are searching for a new apartment on 14th Street to move into.

SI-114

REC-86

105-165706-8-703

The BPP has never settled its past due account with the telephone company, and as a result, the BPP members utilize a pay telephone which has been installed at the headquarters building.

A. SOURCES OF INCOME

JAN 24 1973

During 12/72, the Party ordered or received an estimated 2,000 copies of the BPP newspaper which were delivered by way of air freight in the name of RUSSELL McDONALD, Distribution Manager. [REDACTED]

- ② - Bureau (RM)
 1 - San Francisco (157-1485) (Info) (RM)
 2 - Charlotte

(5)
 Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
CE 157-6171 (Priority)

during 12/72 and sources report the Party continues to operate on a cash basis and through the use of bank money orders.)

The estimated 2,000 copies of the BPP newspaper sold during 12/72 represents no change from the number of papers sold during 11/72. This total is highly unsatisfactory as far as the Party is concerned because the figure in the area of 2,000 means that the Chapter is not meeting its most basic expenses. The Panthers continue their policy of traveling through various cities throughout the State of North Carolina to sell their papers.)

Sources report that LARRY LITTLE, as head of the BPP Chapter, was given a check for \$7,000 from the insurance company of JOSEPH E. WADDELL, BPP member who died in Central Prison, Raleigh, N. C., several months ago. WADDELL named the Winston-Salem BPP Chapter as beneficiary of a \$7,000 insurance policy on himself. Apparently some of this money went for the 12/17/72 BPP sponsored Survival Day Rally held at Winston-Salem, N. C., as sources reported that the Party had on hand \$2,600 in cash for the rally. The money left over from the \$7,000 remains in LITTLE's possession, and sources report that LITTLE has been driving a new automobile during the past several weeks.)

During the 12/72 Survival Day Rally, the Panthers gave away almost everything they had and were said to be broke again and in dire need of funds. No mention has been made of any plans for any future activity, such as the 12/72 Survival Day Rally and the Party members are pretty much inactive at the present time.)

B. FOREIGN SOURCES

None reported.)

C. EXPENSES

Half the price of the newspapers of \$125 would be owed to the California Headquarters of the BPP in addition to an estimated \$20 per week air freight charge. The BPP headquarters

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)
CE 157-6171

at 1333 North Patterson Avenue is being purchased under a lease-purchase agreement with a mortgage rental of \$100 per month to be applied toward the purchase of the house. ()

D. OPERATIONS

HAZEL MACK is handling the finances for the chapter. [REDACTED] all financial transactions are handled in cash or money orders. ()

E. MISCELLANEOUS

Income

Newspaper sales (approximately) \$500.00

Expenses

Newspapers	\$250.00
Freight for Papers	80.00
Rent	100.00
Rent	40.00
Rent	<u>40.00</u>

Total \$510.00 ()

No estimate could be made of unsold papers or the personal expenses of the members, however, sources report that newspaper sales remain far short of what the Party would like them to be. All of the Winston-Salem BPP members are reportedly unemployed at the present time. The Party continues to have numerous outstanding unpaid bills and is still behind in its mortgage rental payments on its headquarters building at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, N. C; however, sources continue to report that the owner of the BPP headquarters building is not pressuring the Panthers for payment of its past due mortgage rental payments. ()

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 1/15/73

Transmit the following in _____
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(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
EXTREMIST MATTERS
BUFILE: 105-165706
CEFILE: 157-6171BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CLEAVER FACTION
EXTREMIST MATTERS
BUFILE: 157-22627
CEFILE: 157-8401

Re Bureau airtel to selected offices, 12/6/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies, and for New York and San Francisco 2 copies, of an LHM, dated and captioned as above. Copy of LHM has been disseminated locally to U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C.

Original and one copy of FD-376 attached to memo.

HARRY LITTLE, mentioned in enclosed LHM, is [REDACTED]

Confidential source [REDACTED] who provided information to SA [REDACTED] Information located [REDACTED]

- (4) - Bureau (Enc. 11)
 2 - New York (BPP-CF) (Enc. 2)
 2 - San Francisco (BPP) (Enc. 2)
 4 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171) (BPP)
 (1 - 157-8401) (BPP-CF)

APR:pbb
(12)

XEROX

AGENCY: ACFT, DIO, OSI, SEC. SERV.,
DEPT. ISD, CIB, RAO, IDIU, CDHOW FORW: R-S
DATE FORW: JAN 22 1973

BY: REG:gt

Approved: JAN 29 1973
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972

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105-165706-8-702 page 2

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
January 15, 1973

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
EXTREMIST MATTERS

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CLEAVER FACTION
EXTREMIST MATTERS

On [REDACTED] a confidential source, who has provided reliable information in the past, advised that Larry Little, head of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina chapter of the Black Panther Party, stated that the BPP was going to support Eldridge Cleaver. Little indicated that he considered Cleaver an oppressed person. Little further stated that Huey Newton, whose BPP philosophy the Winston-Salem group follows, and others have discussed Cleaver and his faction of the BPP and are now willing to back Cleaver even though he had earlier defected from the Party. According to Little, Cleaver's defection supposedly was prompted because he would not be intimidated and harassed. Little stated that he would back Cleaver with any means, whether it meant guns or Survival Day Programs. Source stated that Little's remarks regarding Cleaver were not favorably received by the Winston-Salem Panthers who overheard him make the comments. U

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

XEROX

JAN 29 1973

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CLEAVER FACTION

A split occurred in the BPP during February, 1971, resulting in one faction aligning itself with the BPP International Section headed by Eldridge Cleaver and the other remaining loyal to Huey P. Newton, the Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the California headquartered BPP. In a March, 1971, press conference, the New York Chapter of the BPP announced its allegiance to Eldridge Cleaver. Additionally, stating it would recognize Kathleen Cleaver as the Communications Secretary of the BPP.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina
January 15, 1973

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CLEAVER FACTION

Character EXTREMIST MATTERS

Reference Charlotte memorandum dated and
 captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed
in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.